White-Hall, *February* 15. 168⅞.

Let this be Printed,

SUNDERLAND P.

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Parliamentum Pacificum:

OR, THE

Happy Union

OF

KING & People

IN AN

Healing Parliament:

Heartily *Wish't* for, and *Humbly Recommended*,

By a *True Protestant*, and no *Dissenter*.

The Second Edition Corrected.

London Printed, and are to be Sold by *M. Turner*
At the *Lamb* in *Holborn*, 1688.

Parliamentum Pacificum, &c.

THE design of this ensuing Discourse, you will soon see, is not only directed to the *Plainer* Sort; for then it would supersede all sort of *Explanation*; but may serve to satisfy some Persons of a *finer* Mould, and who to be sure in the business of the State will make a better Figure: I am sure the Good that it designs is so *Universal*, that it onely labours to make but *One* Interest of *KING* and *People*; to prove that disagreeing Parliaments can never procure the Kingdoms Peace; that the reasonable Desires of the Prince (though unreasonably represented) are really consistent with the Service of the Country, and that 'tis possible for a Courtier, or a Papist, to make a good Patriot; and, for this purpose, as we direct our Discourse to those that are to *chuse* our Senators, so we shall as humbly submit it to the Consideration of such as are *Chosen*, that both *tender* Scruples, and *learned* Objections, may be so far satisfi'd and reconcil'd, as to consent and conspire in Unanimous Endeavours, for the settling of a Nation; an Healing Parliament, and Universal Peace.

Tho' I do not here prefix a fine Frontispiece, with as foolish an Explanation of it, yet I think fit to let the Reader know that the Title Page will be best explain'd by those that follow it, when I shall shew Him:

1. That we once had a *Parliament* that was call'd the Healing One.
2. When I shall *shew* the *Manner* How it was made to be so.
3. The *Maxims* and *Methods* that it *Took*.
4. The *wholesome Effects* that *follow'd* from its sober Consultations.

5. The

5. The *Ways* that are taken now to *hinder* the having ſuch another.
6. The *Means* that may be us'd to prevent the Malice and Inſinuations of ſuch as would *Obſtruct* it.

SECT I.

That We had a Parliament call'd the Healing One.

THE *Parliament then, that was call'd this* Healing One, and that by the beſt of Authorities, the *KING's*; by the moſt merciful Monarch, *His Late Majeſty*, that Prince of pious Memory, giving in expreſs terms of his own, this Character at their diſſolution, *That to all Poſterity it ſhould be Call'd the Bleſſed and the* Healing *Parliament:* This *Parliament* I ſay, that had ſo *good* a Name, and that from ſo *good* a KING (tho' another is Fam'd for *Working Wonders*) brought about I think the Beſt of *Miracles:* the *Reſtoration* of their KING, and in that the Succeſſion of the *Preſent*, and was the ſame that ſucceeded the *Pack't Aſſembly*, which upon the admiſſion of the *Secluded Members* diſſolv'd it ſelf, on the *ſeventeenth* of *March*, 1659. and with their expiring breath, ſummon'd *that* which is the ſubject we inſiſt on to ſucced them, on the *Twenty fifth* of *April* next enſuing: *That* which had ſo *glorious* a Character of ſo *great* a KING, and whoſe *wholeſome* Conſtitutions, for the *Healing* our Breaches, and Curing our Diviſions, I would willingly *recommend*, not only to the Nation for the next *Great Example*, but in the Words of this Royal Character, for a *Pattern to all Poſterity*; and ſuch an *One* will only be able to purſue the gracious *Deſigns* of our *Preſent* Soveraign, as well as merit the glorious Elogy of the *Paſt*, ſettle ſuch a laſting Liberty, and Peace, as may not only ſecure it to his deſiring Subjects, for his *own* Life (but in his own Words too) to Poſterity, to make it a *Magna Charta*, that thoſe that come after may never be able to alter it.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Manner How *it was made to be ſo.*

I Wiſh I had no ſuch pertinent Proof for Application, to tell the Church of *England* that has hitherto been fam'd, not only for a Loyalty *boaſted* of, but *approv'd*, that this healing Parliament of thoſe times, was brought about not only againſt their expectation, but alſo againſt the very Proviſions of two direct *Teſts* to prevent it, which ſeems to intimate that *divine* Providence in its deſigns for *Univerſal Peace*, can never be baffl'd by *Mens* Politicks, and that the Meaſures of *humane* Wiſdom, for their own Preſervation, may be much the ſame with *Ill* Men, as well as with thoſe that are really *Good*; and that the ſame ſort of Oaths & Abjurations which the Preſent Eſtabliſh't Church has fram'd for it's *ſupport* (or as ſome ſay *Inſupportable Dominion*) were alſo contriv'd againſt the Meeting of this Parliament of Peace, by thoſe very Villains that had rais'd the *Warr*: *Ab Hoſte doceri*, is a *good* Maxim in a *Camp Martial*; but an *ill* Leſſon to be Learnt by a *Church* even tho' She were *Militant* too.

I do not ſay but that *good* Men may take the ſame meaſures for maintaining their *Legal* Power, that have been us'd by the *Bad* for a *bare* ſupport of Uſurpation, but then they ought to take great heed too (eſpecially in Caſes of Conſcience) leſt any *force* of Compulſion betray the *Weakneſs* of their *Cauſe*.

'Tis known then upon Record, and may be Read in the Journals of the Commons, that the Seditious Aſſembly of *Forty One*, whom the Laws of the Land have declar'd to be ſo, and that Treaſonable too (and ſure then the Church ſo Signaliz'd for Loyalty, will never look on their *Proceedings* as good Preſidents:) 'tis certain I ſay, that *thoſe* fram'd all the *Teſts* and *Oaths* imaginable, for the *Excluding* all the reſt of the Nation, from all *Offices* in the *State* and *Government* in the *Church*; and well they might; for *well* they knew, had their *Cauſe* been *better*, it would have born it ſelf out againſt the *Worſt* of Men; but it being ſo *bad*, they might fear to truſt the *Beſt* of Subjects; for this,

this, then, they fram'd their *Negative Oaths*, *Engagements*, *Covenant*, *Solemn Oath*, *Oath of Abjuration*; and in their dying Votes, and expiring breath, contriv'd these *Tests* against the Concord and Peace of the Parliament that was expected. *First*, J. A. B. *do acknowledge, and Declare; that the War undertaken by both houses of Parliament, against the forces rais'd by the King, was just and lawful; 2d That Magistracy and Ministry are the Ordinances of* God. So here they had found out a *Test* too, and that for Church and State, and *ordered* that those who would not acknowledge *this*, were never to be admitted into any office of Trust, * *Civil* or *Military*; and made uncapable to be Elected to serve as members in the next Parliament that was suddenly to sit.

* *Vid.* the Words of 25 *Car.* 2.

The Church Royalists, and Clergy then, as the Narratives *of those times* tell us, who had suffer'd so much in the service of their Soveraign (when it was their turn to suffer by such a *Test*) look't upon it as too severe a Tryal, nay, Preach't, and Pray'd it down too as a piece of Tyranny, and Persecution, tho it affected them *only* in their politick capacity, and no person was afflicted by it, with any Pecuniary mulct, or Conporal punishment: This their own Authors say they thought *hard*, to suffer *only* for their Fidelity to their *Soveraign*; and will these most unreasonable men, most injuriously suppose it Justice and Reason, that others are expos'd to be incapacitated for *Trust*, excluded from *Office*, debar'd of birth-right; to be banisht, fin'd, imprison'd, and fairly hang'd, and that *only* for their Faith to their *God*?

Gentlemen, These are great *Truths*, unless our Annals *Ly*. Nothing of florid insinuations, but a sober and modest representation of matter of fact, which we shall further apply to the Circumstances of our present time.

And pray, what benefit and ty, after all, had those Spiritual Bonds, and Coercives of the Conscience and Soul, save only to ensnare people into *Perjury*, or punish them for *not* being *Perjur'd*? (i. e.) ruining their *estates* in *this* world, because they would not compound for their *inheritance* in the *next*. What effect had that formidable Declaration, and *Test* of the Two Houses, against the Members of the ensuing Parliament that was to Sit? why, our History tells us, these their hard Exclusions were

were as little heeded by their Electors; the recover'd Nation began to revive its drooping ſpirits; it ſaw diſmal oppreſſion, and fearful Tyranny, like a cloudy ſhade flying from the Land, when the refreſhing Sun breaks forth with his ray, and equally diſpenſes his benefits to *all* below, *Liberty* was *then* too the long'd for bleſſing, and the Univerſal cry, *peace* of conſcience, *freedom* of ſouls, and a *free* Parliament were *heard* in the *Land*, where nought had been but *complaining in the ſtreets*; the freemen and freeholders began to think themſelves truly free, & that even in their Choice of Repreſentatives, their Nations birth-right, and native Inheritance, and that notwithſtanding thoſe *Negative Oaths*, and *Teſts* of Excluſion, and their being baniſh't both Houſes with an *I. A. B.* Neither will the Common Notion of Oaths impos'd by an unlawful Authority, being utterly void, ſatisfy all People; we have ſeen it would not in the Caſe of the *Covenant*, & in ſome ſeveral perſons, that have been good caſuiſts too, it being an invocation of the ſame juſt God, tho' adminiſtred with injuſtice by men, and which perhaps in *matters* of *Faith*, the moſt *Legal* Government, (as many think) cannot well impoſe.

It was at That time, the people began to think of chuſing ſuch Repreſentatives, as ſhould reſcue them from unreaſonable Laws, and a bondage more than that of the *body*: no perſons then pretended Loyalty to a Party, all were Diſſenters but thoſe in *Arms*; all the Nation big with Expectation of this bleſſed and reconciling Parliament: nay, moſt of the very *Army* it ſelf, ſigning an *engagement*, to ſubmit to all it's conſultations; none were diſturb'd with apprehenſions of its approach, none *caſt down*; but ſome in *high places*, and ſuch as were likely to *fall* from a power of doing miſchief; That let *Lambert* out of the Tower, and led him into the field; *fear* of *Union*, and a *fear of Peace*: That Publiſht *Papers* too, to create Jealouſies of *that* enſuing Parliament; and the boldeſt of them too, was a *Letter*, not to a *Diſſenter*, but as ſent *from Bruſſels*: the Church of *England* Loyaliſts then, were *full* of *Addreſſes*, *Declarations*, ſubſcrib'd by *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Clergy*, full of condeſcention to all *tender Conſciences*, with theſe very ſoft terms & expreſſions of **Publique Liberty*, *Publique Peace*, *National Intereſt*; *laying aſide all mention of Parties*, *and Factions*; *and burying all Rancours*,

* Vid. Declarations.

cours, and Animosities: and had before agreed in a *reconciling Association*, of Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independant, and *all*, but Papist Church-Government: and certainly it will not recommend much the demeanor of this Establisht Church, when it shall be said with *Truth*, that she was then only *meek*, when *humbled*; and then alone *merciful*, when she could not *hurt*.

I wish I could not put an end to this Section with another observation, that seems to have some affinity to the juncture of affairs afoot: As it was the Plot of that Parliament that had created all our troubles, at their expiration, to put a *Test* to the Loyalty of the next that was to succeed; or rather a *Tryal* of their affection to their Treason and Usurpation: So also there was a contrivance upon the Assembling of that *Healing Parliament*, to have ejected most of the Members after they were met, by Vertue of those very Votes, and *Tests* of their opinion of the *War*, and of the Ministry and Magistracy being only from *God*. I mention this as apposite too, because 'tis more than probable, that the Contrivances of the late *Tests*, being to debar people of their Birth-right, their Peerage, and sitting in Parliament, they may move again *Now* to have all Members excluded for their Opinions, and that they cannot take the *Oaths*; as if the belief of *Transubstantiation*, would turn the *Elements* of the *man* too, and unqualify a person, for the affairs of his Country; as if a Coventicle was impossible to afford a Burgher, that understood the Constitution of his own Corporation: But certainly there may be some means found out for obviating such an inconvenience; & sure the KING, who by the resolution of the Laws, and the greatest Judges of it, can *dispense* with those *Oaths* to be taken in any *Court* of *Judicature*; can by an Argument *a Majori* extend his dispensation to such as cannot take it in an House of Commons, which is *none*; unless it should so fall out too, as an officer upon the passing those former *Tests* told General Monk, while he was talking of a *new* Parliament, and those qualifications: *they themselves, being to be Judges of themselves, it may so happen, that the Major part may be of* such, *as are not themselves* Qualify'd. And I may add to the present case, *of such* as may not be willing, or care, that others should so *Qualify* themselves for the service of their *King* and *Country*; as in their opinions must make them renounce their *Heaven*, and deny their *GOD*.

But,

But we must not leave this Subject yet, without answering two Objections, wherewith the partial, & concern'd, will be sure to attack us in the rear; and therefore 'tis fit to face about to confute them.

First Then, that the power which oppreſt the Church of *England*, was an abſolute uſurpation, and terminated in a *Tyranny* not to be indur'd; the product of a deviliſh Rebellion, and the remains of a raging War.

Secondly, That thoſe which ſuffer'd under her Reign, have had this aſſurance, and benefit too, that it ſhall always be by the known Laws of the Land, and Statutes of the Realm: whereas all thoſe *Oaths* and *Engagements*, *Votes* and *Ordinances*, we ſo inſignificantly mention, were juſt no Laws at all; ſo that they ſuffer'd by *nothing*, as well as for it.

To this it may be as readily replyed, that *all* ſufferings (if againſt all ſenſe and reaſon, to the ruining men for crimes they cannot but commit) are certainly the *ſame* to the *ſufferers* in the Penalties and Pains, they are to undergo, whatever be the Lawfulneſs of the Authority that inflicts them: 'Tis as ſmall advantage to a man that has all his goods confiſcated for the Twenty pounds a Month, to think he was ruin'd by an Act of Queen *Elizabeth*, as if he had been plunder'd by an *Army* of *Olivers*; and as little comfort for the poor Prieſt that muſt be Hang'd for his Habit, to ſay, he dyes *Legally*, as if he had been Knockt on the Head for taking the Wall. Juſtice and Equity will be ſtill the ſame, whatever are the various Revolutions of a Politick State: and founded upon Eternal *Reaſon*, as ſome Maxims in the Schools, upon the ſame *Truth*.

Thirdly, They muſt be ſoon ſatisfy'd too, and with as much Reverence to thoſe Mighty Powers; that no Power on *Earth*, no *Humane* Conſtitution, can make Statutes againſt the Decrees of *Heaven*, or reſiſt an Omnipotency that is, *Divine*; their Dictates, they ſay, are *Spirit* that influences the *Will*: And will any man ſay *Fleſh* and *Blood* ſhall oppoſe it? *Souls* may be ſaid to have a *Property* too that cannot be violated by the Sanctions of an Humane Aſſembly; nor Perſons made to ſuffer for obeying the *Divine* dictates of their Devouteſt thought; or following the *Natural* Principles of their Re-

ligious Education: The *one* of which even a Moral *Turk* will tell you, muſt not, cannot be oppos'd; and any honeſt Heathen in Philoſophy, teach us the difficulty to Proſelyte *Nature*, or pervert it; and that certainly in leſſer concerns than the Salvation of a *Soul*.

* Naturam expellas furca licet uſque recurret *Horat.*

Diſſenters repreſent their ſufferings in all their addreſſes and Complaints as *Tyrannical* too, they are ſure the beſt Judges of their miſeries that groan under them, and there may be *Tyranny* too in the *Laws*, tho' the Legiſlators, had a *Lawful* Power to make them; but theſe very *Laws* too have been fram'd by *Conſtruction; and ſo they ſympathiz'd with thoſe under Uſurpation, and ſuffer'd by *none at all*.

* Ryots made and Routs of Meeting.

Laſtly, To cloſe this Section, with the ſimilitude of the Circumſtances of affairs, to Crown all, the *KING* himſelf *then*, like his other ſelf *now*; his only and Lawful Succeſſor; intimated his deſigns againſt the opening of the firſt Seſſion of that *Free Parliament*: That he *intended* a *freedom* from all Penalties, and ſuffering for Religion, promis'd it to General *Monk*, and in his Declarations repreſented his readineſs to Conſent to any Act of *Parliament, for the full granting that Indulgence*. Upon theſe Motives was that Miraculous Reſtoration facilitated, upon theſe Foundations was fixt that firm (and what perhaps might have been a more laſting Peace too) had not the powerful importunities of a prevailing *Church*, interrupted the felicity to the diſturbance of the *State*. Gentlemen, the Caſe of the Church of *England* was once in Common with ſome Diſſenters, and no leſs hard than theirs is now; they ſuffer'd (you ſee) together once from a prevailing Party, and *Liberty of Conſcience* was certainly *then* as *dear* to them, as this *Religion Eſtabliſht* by *Law*; and *that* from their own mouths (if his Majeſty may take their Words for it) was alway *dearer to them than their Lives*: It was as great a Crime to them *then* to have a Common Prayer, as to a Diſſenter now to make uſe of the Directory; Her book of Liturgy was lookt on *then* as bad as that of the Maſs, and all her Canon and Rubrick, no more to be receiv'd than a Calendar of Red Letters, or the Rituals of *Rome*. Alas! What a mighty Metamorphoſis the felicity of ſome peoples affairs can produce, to the forgetting of their misfortunes; all their fellow-ſufferers, and even the Senti-

ments

ments of their own Souls. the Diſſenters deſire to come juſt to the Circumſtances they were in, at the late *KING's* Reſtoration. And why for Godſake! muſt this *Eſtabliſht Church* turn truly *Militant*, not only againſt all others, but it ſelf? And like that of *Epheſus*, *Leave her firſt Love*; and as ſome ſay, *her firſt Faith too*; to forget that compaſſion ſhe had for ſuch Sufferers, and her own ſenſe and opinion that ſuch ſufferings were moſt ſevere. What judgment can ſeriouſly be made by Sober Perſons; to what will impartial people impute this *her* hot Zeal againſt Diſſenters, that in the dawning of her Reſtitution was hardly *Luke-warm?* Will it not give occaſion to ſay, that ſhe muſt anſwer for her ſelf, like the *Laodicean* too? *Becauſe, ſays ſhe, I am rich now, and increaſed with goods, and have need of nothing.* And if it be ſo, that the Diſſenters were promis'd *then* an Exemption from Penalties for *matters of meer Religion*; and the KING, Parliament, and Church, thought it meet, as matter of fact will make it appear, then certainly all this cry will ſound very harſh, and *unreaſonable* againſt this preſent Prince, that has greater *reaſons* for it; when he *only* performs the promiſes of his Pious Predeceſſor, gratifies the deſires of *his* Reſtoring Parliament; and anſwers the very *firſt* Petitions of his People.

SECT. III.

The Warins, *and* Methods *that it took.*

AND now by the Diviſion of this Diſcourſe, we are come to the Third Point, *The* Warins *and* Methods *that were taken by this* Healing Parliament. It met upon the Twenty Fifth of *April* (and who knows but about *that* time our next may meet) and may that Epoche of their Commencement, prove as great an Omen of their good Agreement: it found the Kingdom moſt unhappily confus'd with Diverſities of Opinions in the ways of worſhiping their God;

God; it found the ſevere Laws, of Q. *Eliz.* KING *James*, and *Car.* 1. very ineffectual for the ſuppreſſing of what was call'd Schiſm and Diſſention: For this reaſon they took care in the firſt place in their *Act for Confirming of Miniſters*; That none ſhould be *Ejected* for their paſt Non-conformity from 42 to 60, unleſs ſuch as had in the time of Uſurpation *Ejected* others. *This* was agreeable to what the KING had firſt propos'd to them; both before *privately*, and afterward at the *publick* opening of the Parliament: for *this* the Lord Chancellor, in their firſt Adjournment, was order'd to tell them from the KING, in theſe Terms:

Vid. Lord Chancellors Speech on that Occaſion.

That no ſort of Piety and Godlineſs, ſhould be turn'd into terms of ſlander and reproach, or diſtinguiſh between the Court, the City, or the Country. *He was order'd further to tell them*, That (by that favourable *Act* for confirming of Miniſters) his Majeſty was ſenſible he had gratify'd many worthy, and Pious Men, and ſuch as ſhould alway receive freſh evidence of his Majeſties favor and Kindneſs. *In that Parliament he had this Direction to tell them*, Of the ſad conſideration, that the differences in Religion ſhould be the ground of Animoſities, Malice and Revenge, Paſſions which the Divine Nature exceedingly abhor'd: *That the Bloody Wars proceeded from thoſe Contentions:* And *that* (however deſcanted on, by men that have a mind to be Seditious) *is juſt the ſame, what His preſent Majeſty was pleas'd to ſignify to be* His *Senſe too, in his late Declaration for Indulgence.* The Ld. Chancellor further declar'd, *That* the marks of a true Church, were Charity to one another. He tells them, That this Diſquiſition had Coſt his Majeſty many a *Sigh*, many a *Sad Hour:* That he had taken pains to Compoſe them with Learned and Pious men, of different Perſwaſions, which they ſhould ſhortly ſee by a Declaration he would Publiſh on that occaſion, by which they ſhould ſee his great Indulgence, to thoſe who can have a *Protection* from their *Conſcience*, to differ from their brethren: Exhorting them all, to be but pleas'd themſelves, and perſwade others to be ſo. *Thus* ended that Seſſion, and was Adjourn'd to the Sixth of *November* following.

Hitherto, you ſee there was no *Penal Statutes* made, no *Force* to be put upon *Peoples Conſcience*; and the Proteſtant Religion

ligion *ſtill* to be ſafe, without making of *Diſſenters* ſuffer.

Purſuant to theſe Gracious Sentiments of the Prince, and prudent Reſolutions of the Parliament. The KING, before their Meeting again, publiſh't a Declaration, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, full of gracious Conceſſions, to reconcile all different Opinions in Religion: And ſuch was the Peaceable Reſult of that Royal Indulgence, (for it was really no other) that *all* Subjects ſeem'd to be ſatisfy'd; *all* Differences reconcil'd, and the Parliament it ſelf afterward giving the KING publick Thanks, for his Pious Inclination to Peace and Concord. To purſue it further, the *Lord Chancellor* had Liberty to offer Biſhopricks and Deanaries to thoſe that Labour'd for this Reconciliation; ſome accepted, others refuſed: a Commiſſion was iſſued out for an Agreement upon ſome Alterations in the Liturgy, as were requiſite to ſatisfy ſome tender Conſciences: And the Miniſters met upon it afterward at *Sion Colledge*, and wou'd have *agreed* on a Model of Epiſcopacy. Here was an *Agreement* between KING, Parliament, and *People*; but it was too great an Happineſs to laſt long: thoſe that had more cruel Inclinations, and aſpir'd to be ſo far powerful, as to puniſh for Non-conformity, foreſaw that this Parliament would never put them in a Capacity to do it; and ſo prevail'd; that on the *Twenty Ninth* of *December* following, was Diſſolv'd this *Reconciling* Parliament, though with the foremention'd Elogies of that *Famous* PRINCE; who, as he was beyond all Character, beſt underſtood how to give One, which he did here to this Effect, That it ſhould be Call'd to all *Poſterity*, *The Bleſſed*, *and the* Healing Parliament: So alſo, he broke out into this more Exalted Encomium, and Emphatical Interrogatory; *That it ſhould be a Rule to his Actions, and Councils, to Conſider; what is* ſuch *a* Parliament *like to think of this Council of Mine, or this Action?* And in this Opinion of his Parliament (though nothing can add more to it's Fame, after ſuch a Panegyrick from it's PRINCE) was he ſeconded by all Hiſtorians that Deſcribe it, who tells us, *Never did* KING *and* Parliament *better Agree, never was a* Parliament begun *with greater Expectation*, and onely *Ended* with leſs ſatisfaction in laſting no longer. Others call it the *Happy* Parliament, that aſſur'd the Foundations, rais'd the Structure of our Antient Engliſh

glish Monarchy: And Mr. *Cowley*, the sweetest of our Bards, sufficiently sings it's Praises in his Ode on the Restoration.

But it happen'd here, as it always does, where the Countenance and *Power* of the PRINCE, makes the *Clergy* Plenipotentiaries; when they began to *find* their Strength, they assoon began to *use* it; and the *moderate* Men being baffl'd in their Elections, and the more *Inconsiderate* sacrificing their Interest to their *Ambition*; which upon *Consideration* now, they call *Revenge*, settled their *Liturgy*: A Parliament was Assembled in 62. Confirm'd an absolute Act of *Uniformity*; the KING's Promises, Declarations, Commissions, all *Dy*, or had no *Life*; and about 2000 of Conscientious Ministers most Unconscionably silenc'd for their Opposition. * The Gentlemen Confess their Errour, and so we need not prove it.

* *Vid.* Letter to Dissent.

SECT. IV.

The wholesome *Effects that follow'd it's Sober Consultations.*

IF any one should ask us now to the Fourth Point: *What were the good Effects that follow from this Assemblies sober Debates, and Consultations?* Why! The Answer is easy and short; *Peace*, a National & Universal *Peace*; a *Peace* in Church; a *Peace* in State, so Calm and Serene, even to the satisfying of a Conscience and a Soul; as if the Spirit of *GOD* had moved again upon the Face of the Waters, after a confus'd Deluge, and a Sea of Blood; as if the *holy Dove* it self, had brought the *Peaceful* Branch to our Isle, as from the Deluge to an Ark: The *Good* Effects of it cannot better be guest, than from the *Bad* Ones that *followed* it's being *Dissolv'd*; and that they were no greater, can only be imputed to the suddeness of it's Dissolution, which was only worthy to have been *Endless*, and what both it's Preceding and following one were; truly *Perpetual*, and *Long*.

And to confirm with the most forcible Argument, from matter of fact, the good Effects that follow'd it; there was nothing of a *Plot* heard of, all the Time of its Sitting, and what could be the Reason of such a General Calmness and Serenity: certainly

certainly nothing else, but the *Liberty* every one enjoy'd to Worship his *GOD* in his own Way; and what was generally expected, should have been settled by Law, and which had certainly been done too, had they sate longer; and 'tis shrewdly to be suspected, that the Interest some People had, who affected power, and fear'd to lose the *Liberty* which they better lik't, to punish other Religions by the Laws of their *Church*; hinder'd *Toleration* from being made an Act of the *State*.

And what *follow'd* pray presently upon it's *Dissolution*, but the Insurrection of *Venner*, and his Fifth Monarchy-men, fighting for JESUS CHRIST, for fear now of what follow'd; that their *Reign* was like to be but short?

When the Oaths of Supremacy began to be tender'd to all; and the *Test* of Abjuration (that some thought a Temptation to a seeming Perjury) was indiscriminately put; a thing that *Pryn* himself (that had writ for the KING's Coming in) tho' *against* all things before, could oppose, as contrary to *Magna Charta*, when Encroachments in Ecclesiasticals began to creep on; were there not then too, Designs and Conspiracies set afoot; and *Barebone*, *Salmon*, *Wildman*, *Ireton*, and others seiz'd, and Committed to safe Custody?

When that *dreadful* St. *Bartholomew* (as they call'd it) began to dawn upon the *Dissenters*; by which day they were oblig'd to read Divine Service, according to the Act of Uniformity, wear the Vestments of the *Church*, or forsake their *Pulpits*, after *all* their Endeavours to prevail with a Parliament were in vain, and their Application to KING and Council as Fruitless; when the Bishops were ready, and had provided men for to fill the places of *such* as would not take the *Test*; and near two Thousand were turn'd out upon it: the Conformists *reserving too much the bitter Tast of their rough Usage*, notwithstanding the General *Amnesty*, so much prest by the KING; & one would think might have been most *Religiously* observ'd by *Prelates*; Did not *then* first, Fears and Jealousies begin to invade the State, and even make the Government it self afraid? So Conscious is Oppression of Consequences that are Fatal; that *power* it self can distrust it's own *Weakness*: and for this reason presently upon it (being sensible of the provocations given in Matters of Religion) Walls were order'd to be pulled down: several Ci-

ties and Towns to be dismantl'd; at the same time that the severities of the Laws were to be put in Execution: and what ensu'd? but the suspected Plot of *Danvers*, *Ludlow*, &c. for which *Philips*, *Young*, *Gibbs* and Others were Executed.

Upon the Neck of that, broke out another in the *North*; and while they were Labouring by Rigor to suppress the Divisions in the *Church*, what did they Raise but open Rebellions in the *State?* Several of the Conspirators were Taken; and a Commission sent to *York* to Try them; fifteen were found Guilty, the Chief of them, one Capt. *Oates*: some were Executed at *York*, some at *Leeds*, some in Adjacent Places; and so universal was the Discontent upon this encroachment of the *Liberty* of *Worship*, that the same Conspiracy had spread it self to *London*, and was first to have broke forth in *Ireland*.

In the *Sickness* time, when the KING left *London* and went to *Oxford*; which, though not *Visited*, the *Dissenters* say, they found there their *Plague* too, the *Five-Mile Act*, to prevent (as they call'd it) *the spreading their Infection*; whereby indeed they were Banish't Corporations and Towns, as if they were *Tainted* with the *Malignancy* that Reign'd, and onely fit for a *Pest-house*; and that too with another *Test* to the purpose; why? What ensu'd presently upon it? Before the *Pestilence* was hardly ceas'd, and the KING *well* return'd to *London*, but another Discovery for the Alteration of the Government; of which Conspiracy, one *Alexander* was the Chief; the City to be Fir'd on the *Third* of *September*; the same time, that it was indeed: and for which the *Romanists* were so unreasonably Reproach't; for which several were Try'd at the *Old-Baily*, and Executed at *Tyburn*.

Vid. *Gazet.*

The first Commotion that began in *Scotland*, was also upon the same Account; when the Ryot that was made upon one of their Justices; as was Confest by both sides, was only for too rigorously Executing the Laws against them in matters of Religion; which Ryot, tho' rais'd by a small Number of Inconsiderable Sufferers, yet soon ran up so high as an Army, and which was Marching with all hast to *Edenburgh*.

And the last Rebellion at *Bothwell-Bridge*, tho' begun by some desperate Villains, to defend themselves from the Justice they had deserv'd, for the Murdering of the Archbishop, had never

never come to that height; had not the Covenanters thinking themselves Oppreſt by the *Penal Laws*, clos'd in with them, and increas'd their Army to ſuch a Number, as to make them formidable.

And Laſtly, I much doubt, whether ever *Monmouth* himſelf would have made ſo much work in the Weſt, had not the Severities of the Laws then Zealouſly ſet afoot, ſent him many a Souldier into the *field*, that did not dare to ſtay *at home*, for fear of fine and confiſcation; and had his Majeſty, aſſoon as he Aſcended his Throne, been Permitted by the Reaſons of State, or not oppos'd by the importunities of ſome people, to have declar'd his Reſolutions of Indulgence, perhaps it might have ſav'd a great deal of Proteſtant Blood; and Diſſenters never have fought for that *Liberty of Conſcience* which it ſeems to them too, was *Dearer than their Lives*.

God forbid! That ever Rebellion ſhould be really Juſtify'd by Religious *Pretences*; but ſince, Matter of Fact makes it Plain, that Religion is ſo often *Pretended*, as is manifeſt here from the Diſturbance that was given to the State, conſtantly upon every Uſurpation and Penalty, Tryal and Teſt that was put upon Peoples Souls (as is apparent from the foregoing Particulars); can any man in his wits not cloſe with a Provident PRINCE, to remove the very *Pretences* too of it? To quarrel at ſuch a Prudential Act, is to tell His Majeſty, they are never *Eaſy*, but when her's *Embroyl'd*; never *Secure*, but when there's an *Inſurrection* againſt their KING. Theſe ſort of Men are more dangerous in their Sentiments, than ſome *Country Ideots* in their Suppoſitions; ſome of them wont believe *Monmouth* to be *Dead*; and theſe by their own Maxims muſt wiſh him *Alive*.

'Tis as Certain as *Truth* it ſelf, if Fact can make a thing appear *True*; that Sufferers for Religion (and perhaps we may except no Perſwaſions) will endeavour to lay hold on any Alteration of State, to *Reſcue* themſelves from the ſeverity of ſuch Oppreſſions, 'tis as natural as to ſinking Men to catch at a Plank: And I could prove *this* from Hiſtory, for above this *Hundred* and *Fifty* Years, from our *Henry th' Eighth*, to thoſe inſtances I make uſe of in the laſt Reign. To *this* Provocation do the *Hollanders* owe their Revolt, their Being, and

their Common-wealth. To *this*, do the *Hugonots* of *France* Aſcribe their Entry into their *Union* or League under the P. of *Conde*: and what that Coſt *that* Kingdom, let *Ours* Judge. To *this*, do diſcontented Courtiers, and deſperate Villains, owe all that which to a Government makes them Formidable: for ſuch Creatures as could never Hope upon their own Intereſt, to Muſter an hundred Men (where a *general Indulgence* is Eſtabliſh't) ſhall under a Preſſure of Conſcience, raiſe you a Million; and with this Advantage too, that the Cauſe (whatever are the Fellows that engage in it) will ſtill carry the better Face; and Quallify Villains of no Religion, to Head thoſe that really Fight for it; and to tell you that they are *The Armies of the Living GOD, the GOD of* HOSTS; and *that they Fight the Battles of the* LORD. So certain it is, that thoſe who are not permitted to aſſemble in their own *Church*, will always be Reſtleſs and Uneaſy in the *State*: Paſſive Obedience in ſuch Caſes, we ſee ſooner Preach't than Practis'd; and ſuch as are deny'd in their own Way to Worſhip their *GOD*, will aſſoon be deficient in their *Duty* to their *KING*; and may the *Fear of it*, never make ſome ſort *Undutiful*; that Profeſs, they'l never be Provok't, tho' by *Suffering for it*.

So much was it the ſenſe of His Late *Majeſty*, as partly appears before; that in purſuance of his Promiſes at *Breda*, and his Intimations to his Firſt Parliament, that was ſo *Healing*: To which he *preſt* a *Liberty of Conſcience*; that he alſo in his Declaration of *December*, *Sixty Two*, makes a Confirmation of it; and ſays, That he was *Firm in his Reſolutions of Performing it to the Full*: And this even againſt the Senſe of his New Parliament, that was more for Penalty and Perſecution. Of this, he Expreſt his Senſe in his Parliament, *July* 16th. *Sixty Nine*: And then, in ſpite of them, *March*, 25th. *Seventy Two*, made good his Promiſes to *All*; by a *General* Indulgence, and a Protection of the *Church* of *England*.

SECT. V.

SECT. V.

The Ways *that are Taken* Now, *to Hinder the Having ſuch* Another.

HAving Diſcours't of the *Paſt*, we come home now to our Selves, and the *Preſent* Time, and to Conſider the Fifth Point; *The Ways that are Taken now, to Hinder the having ſuch Another* Healing Parliament: And truly, they are not much Honeſter Attempts, than were us'd to prevent the Meeting of the *Firſt*; and that is the Old Antiquated pretence of *Jealouſies* and *Fears*; only there is another *Knave* turn'd Trumps now: (tho' 'tis the ſame thing to the Government, whether 'tis trick't upon, by that of *Clubs*, or *Diamonds*:) 'Tis ſtrange! That *thoſe* that made ſo lately the *Folly* of other mens *Fears* ſo Ridiculous, ſhould make themſelves *now*, to thoſe *very* Men the moſt *fearful Fools*.

That *thoſe*, who ſtill aſſerted the Aſſurance and Security of their Religion, from the *Promiſe* of their KING; ſhould now, without the leaſt Breach of it, give him the Ly; and tell him to his Face, *You are worſe than your* * *Word*. That *thoſe*, who ran up the Prerogative to the Height of its *Power*; ſhould diſpute now, the *Power* of their KING's *Diſpenſing*. What is this, but a Confeſſing to their Foes, (whom they ſtill followed with Fine and Confiſcation) that their Divines were Dunces, their Books were Libels, and the Fam'd *Filmer*, the greateſt Fool? It is a Saying ſo common, and ſo natural, that the moſt ignorant, both know it, and make uſe of it too; To Look before they Leap. And would any Conſiderate men make uſe of the ſame Arguments, and take the ſame Meaſures, for which they have ſo much Expoſed and Reproached others? But, it fares with them here in their *Civil* Matters, as the Late KING's Papers almoſt unanſwerably obſerve of their Concerns in *Eccleſiaſticals*; That part of the Nation, which looks moſt like

* *Vid.* Letter.

like a Church, cannot bring Her Arguments againſt the other Sects, for fear they ſhould be *turn'd* againſt Her ſelf. But only *here* they make the Inverſion much worſe: *Here* She takes the Old Arguments of *Diſſenters* on Her *Side*, only to make Her Own *fly* in Her *Face*; ſo that an Honeſt and Unbyaſt Aſſerter of the Government, has nothing elſe to do, to Anſwer the Clamours of the *Preſent* time, but to Declaim againſt the Cavils of the *Paſt*, and *both* thoſe are Reducible to theſe Three Celebrated and Conteſted Points.

I. *Arbitrary Power.*

II. *Freedome* of *Parliaments.*

III. *Proteſtant Religion.*

For the Firſt, and for them all in their Order; though the preſent KING's Promiſes are as *Current* with them, as his Fathers *Coin*; and *both* bear the *ſame* Image and Superſcription. Though the *Leges Angl: libertas* Parliament: *Religio Proteſtant*: have been the continual Subject of all this KING's Gracious Declarations; and particularly, in that of His *Indulgence*: when (to put it in his * Own Words) Property, Liberty, and the Proteſtant Religion, are *all* aſſur'd to them, on the *Word* of a *KING*: Yet *ſtill*, the Matter by ſome or other muſt be *ſtill* ſo manag'd, as to make the *People* to diſtruſt, and doubt of *all*: Such is the hard Fate of PRINCES (as if a Crown could not be contriv'd to ſit ſoft on a Royal Head; as if deſtin'd to be a Burthen by Decree;) both Extreams ſhall conſpire to make it uneaſie: Monarchs for the moſt part are endanger'd, for their not *believing* any *Danger* to be *near*. 'Tis hard they ſhould ſuffer, by not *being Believ'd* too, when they tell their Subject there is *None*. Mark but the *Goodneſs* of your PRINCE, and then ſee, whether he deſerves to be treated ſo *Ill*. A numerous part of his People being uneaſie (as certainly thoſe muſt be, that ſuffer for Conſcience ſake, and when the *Iron Enter their very Souls*)

* Vid. this *King's* Two Proclamations to *Scotland*, & his Declaration of Indulgence here.

Souls) had made the Government a long time ſo too. To ſilence their Clamours and Complaints, the King would take away the occaſion of their Calamities, the ſeverities of the Laws; and that raiſes now as mighty *murmurings* among *thoſe*, that were only for ſurpreſſing of *Malcontents* before; as if his *Throne* were more dreadful, when he makes it even the *Mercy-ſeat*. How ſhall the moſt gracious Prince pleaſe ſuch a divided People? where diſcontent only ſhifts Parties, and *Loyalty* ſeems no longer entail'd, (love at leaſt and affection) then as the King continues his favour, or it ſeems only now ſo long as he confines it to themſelves alone, ſure gratitude and friendſhip muſt not be limited like Marriage Vows, or thoſe of Devotion, to *one* Object: neither is a King to be conſidered in his politick capacity like a natural body, *Whoſe* Love is *then* the moſt Generous, when 'tis moſt extenſive; and his power beſt *abſolute*, when he Reigns in the Hearts of *all*; to make himſelf this *Univerſal Monarch* ſeems *only* the deſign of His preſent Majeſty, and to make him more *Fear'd* than *Lov'd* are the devices of ſome Unreaſonable men.

But the reſult of theſe inconſiſtencies with themſelves, they will ſay does ariſe, and is occaſion'd by ſome deeper inſight of theirs into the deſigns of State, and our plauſible Varniſh may ſerve to ſet it off, but will never hinder them from ſeeing through it; 'tis ſtrange! that theſe politick Spectacles ſhould be ſo ſuddenly put on; this muſt make the Diſſenters value *their* opticks; proud of a better foreſight, and more acurate intuition; and tell the Church-men, we told you of this, and then where were your eyes? but could the Diſſenters have foreſeen too his Majeſties merciful Inclination, *Popery* and *Slavery* might never have been their *Monumental Motto*, or themſelves ſeduc'd to follow ſome more deſperate Malecontents to their death and deſtruction: was it Sedition in them to doubt? Was it Treaſon almoſt to think? and is it a Loyal Act now, to declare in Writing the danger of the Proteſtant Religion? and *that* at a time, when the free Exerciſe of it is permitted to *All*; certainly ſuch unwonted Surmiſes from Perſons that have declar'd their abhorrence of them as Seditious, are as *ſurpriſing*, as

the

the *new Friendſhip's*, and ſhew that the Tide is turn'd, the Wind tackt about againſt their Intereſts; and what can Diſſenters *ſay*, but that they ſee through all this, and as they told the Diſſenters that the *Liberty* they labour'd for, was only a *Licence* to do what they *liſt*; ſo their Popery that is now coming in, is nothing elſe but their perſecuting Power that's going out.

What will they *not ſay?* when they ſee thoſe that exalted the ſeiſing of Franchiſes, as an undoubted Prerogative, printed and publiſht the forfeiture of all Charters, Priviledges and Immunities; and that *before* they were granted with ſuch Reſtrictions and Reſervations, as more impower his Majeſty, than when theſe People made them all thus dependant on the Crown: *'Tis ſtrange!* that even *thoſe* ſhould murmur at His Majeſties power of *Diſpenſing*, which the practiſe of the Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land did ever Allow; I do not deſign to enter here upon the old diſtinction of *Malum in ſe*, & *Prohibitum*, for that *Evil* which was *prohibited*, when by reaſons of State it comes to be *diſpens'd* withal, is no longer ſo, but really *good*; ſo it would be oppreſſion in a Prince, to demoliſh the dwellings of his Subjects, but no one will ſay 'tis ſo in a Siege; when he burns down the Suburbs.

But this being not only to be defended by *Reaſon*, but the *Laws*, was repin'd at as * *Arbitrary*; the King upbraided with his Coronation Oath to keep all the Laws, the Judges Libell'd and Satyris'd for their ſenſe and opinions, and with a *Non Obſtante*, poſted up in an houſe of Office: The rumour ran of nothing elſe, but *all* the Laws to be lay'd aſide, though only *ſome* Penal ones were ſuſpended; and when they might as well have made their Satyr and Animadverſion upon every Seſſion at the *Old-Baily*, where the King was never deny'd the pardoning of a Felon, or remitting a Fine; tho' the one were for the higheſt miſdemeanour, and the other even for murder it ſelf: and ſure, to infer from an argument *a fortiori*, if the Law will juſtifie the King's Mercy to a Malefactor for the ſhedding of blood, it will ſure extend to forgive the forfeiture of an Office or Place, and yet too, by the leave of the mighty Dr. and his moſt malicious * conſtruction, this

ſhall

* *Vid.* Letter: and Anſwer to the *Teſt* of Church of *Englands* Loyalty.

Vid. All *Burnets* Papers.

* *Dr. Burnets* Reflections on Declaration for *Liberty*, &c.

shall not amount to the *repeal* of the Law, and be but a bare suspension of the *Penalty*. For as it appear'd in the late Case of *Hales*, it was in the power of any man to *Prosecute*, tho it was at last left in the King to *Pardon*: And if the Doctor will make haste before the Parliament may make some Alteration, he shall bring what information he pleases against any Papist for their forfeitures; where he may shew his Malice, and do no mischief: So that all his *Scotch* Droll, about *Cass* and *Null*, and *Absolute Power* apply'd to the Cases in *England*, are nothing to the Purpose. But it was not Dr. *B.* alone that was thus bold, we heard nothing about that time in *private* discourse, but threatning of *Publick* impeachments; and that Parliaments had questioned *Wolsey*, *Bristol*, and others, for advising such dispensations; and that Judges had been with the old story of *Tresilian*, hang'd for such resolutions. Gentlemen, it could not be the Dissenters *now* that were guilty of these sort of Observations, unless they were angry at the Clemency and Mercy that reliev'd them.

But that we have no reason to make this a piece of *Arbitrary Power*, consider but some Presidents of Prerogative, and that in the former Reigns: King *Edw.* 3*d.* repeal'd an Act of Parliament (as impos'd by necessity) and *that* by his Royal Prerogative; the Parliament in *Rich.* 2*d.* time by several Judicial Acts, had proceeded against the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Ireland*, and Arch-Bishop of *York*, to which the King had given his assent; but assoon as he *dissolv'd* that *Assembly*, all was *dissolv'd* too, that had been done against them.

And that the Resolution of our Judges may not be lookt on as so Extrajudicial and Extravagant, I'le refer them to what was resolv'd by the Judges in the same Kings Reign.

I. *That the Statute of Commission made in the last Parliament, was Void, because against the Prerogative, and that the Advisers to it deserved Death.*

II. *That the King could cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they meddled with any other.*

III. *That the Judgment againſt* Pool *in Parliament was Revocable by the King.*

So that it is no new thing for the Judges in the higheſt manner to aſſert the Prerogative, and what ever *Miracles* were performed afterward by that Parliament of *wonders*, that does not make it leſs the duty of thoſe ſages to aſſert the right of the Crown; tho' ſome of them were afterward by the rebellious Barons, and the deſigning Duke of *Gloceſter* brought to ſuffer for the ſervice to their *KING*, and by the ſame *People* too, that afterward depos'd their Prince. I need no more than mention the Diſpenſation to the *Juſtices* againſt 37. of *Hen.* 6. and that common Caſe of the Sherifs, diſpenſed with by the 2*d.* of *Hen.* 7. or the Caſe of Coinage in his 11. when *Hen.* 8. rejected the Popes Supremacy in Eccleſiaſticals; 'tis as well known he reſerv'd it as *Entirely* to himſelf, ſettl'd upon him ſo by Act of Parliament: ſo that if the Pope ever had a *Diſpenſing* power with a *non Obſtante*; *both Hen.* 8 and *Edw.* 6. had it too, and I think *both* of them made uſe of it *with a witneſs:* * the Sanctuary it ſelf was not ſafe againſt their *Diſpenſations*, that were extended even to Sacriledge too, and the *Altar* it ſelf was offer'd up for a *Burnt-Offering* to ſome Orders of the *Council-Board*.

The management of Religious matters will ever depend on the Civil Magiſtrate; and is a ſaying never the leſs certain, or more falſe, for being the ſenſe too of Mr. *Hobbs*.

The power that *theſe* aſſum'd in Eccleſiaſticals, as ſome think too *much* (as it was deriv'd to all their ſucceſſors ſince) ſo none of them have exercis'd it ſo *little* as to loſe it by *diſuſe*: but in all their *Diſpenſations* to *Foreigners*, that came to ſettle, to their Families when encreas'd, and to ſeveral of their native ſubjects at *home*, ſufficiently manifeſted, that this Power was in the Crown, that it was often made uſe of; and that it is very unlikely any Prince will be willing to part with it. Who ever run the Royal Authority in *Satreds* higher than the Church that diſputes it now ſo much; So that the Kings power is with them what they pleaſe, when it

*Vid. *Heylin's* Hiſt. Reform. as alſo Acts & Monuments, and you'l ſee what *Waſte*, what *Work* was made with *Altars* & *Images*; tho' ſuch irreligious Violence was by the Council of *Illiberis* forbidden to be ſhewn, even the Pagan Idols.

it only countenances *their* Eſtabliſhment, and juſt none at all, when it will Favour *any Other*. I muſt confeſs *I* could never find but that *Argument* and *Law* was ever relatively *Good* or *Ill*, according to the diſpoſition of the Party that was to *Gain* or *Loſe* by it, and every man will ever be a Knave or a Fool, to thoſe that are not of his Opinion: but yet certainly, there muſt be ſomewhat of intrinſick Equity, and Eternal Reaſon; however confounded, according to the diverſity of Parties, and partiality of the People; and by ſuch an *Unprejudic'd* Judgment, *I* dare venture to try, not only the power of *Diſpenſing*, but of the very *Repealing* of the *Laws*.

I would ask theſe men, whether Queen *Elizabeth* did not take as *great* a Liberty in * Eccleſiaſticals, for the founding of *their* Church, *greater* than they can allow His Majeſty, only for the Countenancing of *his*, when Her Injunctions to the *Church* paſt as *currant* with them for an Act of *State*, as if 't had only been her *Coinage*: and *She*, at the ſame time, could *diſpenſe* to read the *Latine Service*, * againſt what Her Self and Parliament had *Enacted*? And if the Proceedings of PRINCES muſt be ſo much expos'd to the Cenſure of the *People*: We meet with in her Reign, perhaps the higheſt inſtance of unheard-of Power, that Hiſtory affords; or ever was aſſum'd by any Monarch that ſate on our Throne. And that was her Proceeding againſt the Queen of *Scots*, the next Heir to her Crown (tho' ſome would give Her a better Title) whom, againſt the Laws of Nature and Nations, the Word of a Queen, the Promiſe of a Siſter, the Faith of a Chriſtian, after ſhe had fled to her for Refuge; after ſhe had flatter'd her to reſtore her; after Eighteen Years Impriſonment, made her hold up her Hand to a *Bar*, and be Beheaded on a *Block*. It may be the firſt Example of ſuch a ſort of Suffering, that ever was offer'd to a Crown'd Head, whatever are the thoughts of our ſublimated * Wits, to the contrary in the Caſes they *put*. For * *Licinius* you muſt firſt obſerve, was by *their* own Confeſſion, but a *Colleague* with *Conſtantine*; and we may tell ſuch Men of *Law*, that underſtand *Loyalty* to be nothing *elſe*; that till they prove the Queen of *Scots* a *Coparcenary* with Q. *Elizabeth*, they are *impertinent* in their Proof: but as Bad Luck would have it, when Wiſe Men make Ill Argu-

* Vid. *Heylin's* Reformation, & even *Burnets* too.

* It was ſaid by *Moor* in her Reign, and Juſtify'd in Parliament; that the Queens *Non Obſtante* was good even againſt *the Non Obſtante*, of an Act of Parliament to her Power & Prerogative.

* Dr. *Burnet*, & the Author of the Tryal, and Examination of the New Teſt of the *Church* of *England's* Loyalty.

ments. * This *Licinius*, was Colleague with *Maximianus*, conquer'd by *Constantine*, and kill'd in a tumultuous Mutiny by the Souldiers. He might as well have told us that our *Will.* the *Conqueror* kill'd *Harold* the *Dane*: And that Authors *other* President, that he cites for a Judicial Proceeding against a Crown'd *Head*, fails him too, as much, tho' he might have told us, which Queen *Joan* [there being two that Reign'd] and both *Bad* enough: for that of Q. *Joan*'s of *Naples* Case, was shortly this: *She* had hang'd her *first* Husband for *Insufficiency*; Kill'd the *second*, in trying too much his *Ability*; Beheaded the *third* for *Incontinency*; She was Vanquish't by the K. of *Hungary*, Brother to her First Husband, and Hang'd in revenge of his death. Here's the Act again of an inrag'd Enemy, made the same with a Friend and *Ally*, and the Case of the lewdest Creature applyed to the most Pious *Lady*. Dr. *B.* himself cannot excuse the Barbarous Proceedings that were us'd against her: and tho' I do not blame *all* the Bishops of *those* Times, and *This*, as some *severe* Papers have done: yet to be Just to both; *most*, both of the *Clergy* and the *Laity* that liv'd then, were for sacrificing of her, to what they call'd *Preservation of Religion*: and few of those that have followed since, have justifyed the Proceedings. Whatever were the Cause, the Effects I'm sure were fatal, and I fancy, follow'd by some of our own Nation since, and that to the spilling of more of the same Blood; and verifying the Prophetick foresight, as well as the seasonable Sarcasm of that unfortunate Princess, that the English were ever wont to Murder their *own KINGS*: and no wonder then they would sacrifice now the Crown'd Head of *another Kingdom*. Thus, Gentlemen, suffer'd that *pious Princess* (and if any) a *Blessed Saint*; and that upon the pretence too of a sort of *Penal Law*: a *Test* on purpose to destroy her, and that upon the account of *Religion*. *Backhurst* and *Beal* both that brought her the dismal Tydings of her *Death*, intimated to her, that her *Life* would be the ruine of the *Religion* received: and indeed 'twas as agreeable to the pretended Interest of the State that Condemn'd her: for she had no other *Crime* but their *Fears*: and if her Endeavours to escape from the Con-

* Vid. *Sleid.* de quatuor summ. Imper. *lib.* 2. *Eutropius*, lib. 10. *Socrates*, lib. 1. cap. 2. & lib. 2. cap. 1.

Vid. his Answer to the New Test.

Confinement of a Faithleſs Ally were high Treaſon, She was then only in a *Plot*. So fell that Unfortunate Monarch, whoſe Misfortunes would have melted Marble, and that by the height of the moſt *Arbitrary Power*: in a Reign, where we dream of nothing elſe but *Liberty*, *Property*, and no other *Diſpenſations* but of impartial Juſtice: And can any one think, that his Majeſty himſelf, the direct Iſſue of the *ſame* Princeſs, whoſe Religion is the *ſame*, is not *Wounded* too with the ſanguinary proceedings of her Times, and the ſeverity of thoſe Laws ſtill in force; by which (whatſoever is pretended) many meerly for Religion ſuffer'd; and thoſe Catholicks that were Executed, for what was adjudg'd High-Treaſon, found as little *Mercy*, as the other *Juſtice*: being Cut down alive, and Embowelled before their Face; till the Queen was forc't to forbid ſuch cruel Executions.

That the Power of the Prerogative has been Arraign'd with ſuch Animadverſions, as are above Suggeſted; and that the KING's Diſpenſations have been remark't upon, as Illegal, and without Preſident: and *that* by *thoſe* very men, that made it their Buſineſs to advance any abſolute Proceeding. He muſt have kept himſelf very cloſe, or doubt his Hearing that disbelieves it: but more than that, they have given it under their Hand, and the moſt modeſt of their Papers, an *Anſwerer to the Judgment and Doctrin of the Clergy*, about the power of *Diſpenſing*; does handſomely clear them from the Belief of the Right of the KING's Prerogative in this point; and is loath they ſhould be taken for ſuch Betrayers of the Liberty of the People. Their Crime had not been ſo great, had their opinions lain under the Obloquy of ſuch an Imputation; and the Anſwerer as little obliges his Church, as the Pamphleteer: but as modeſt as he is, 'tis manifeſt from it, that the Judgment of their Church is *now* againſt it, or elſe, ſure it muſt be a needleſs labour, if not impertinent, to take ſo much pains to vindicate its Members from it: But this I muſt obſerve from my acquaintance with *all* thoſe Authors Quoted; that tho' they have not in expreſs Terms extended the KING's power to *Diſpenſe* with *Penal Laws*, they have advanc't his Soveraignty to as high a pitch: and when the ſhooe pinches,

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we are apt to complain, tho' it be of our own putting on: And those that find, from the Revolutions of Affairs, any unexpected Inconveniencies to flow from their own Arguments, have nothing else to do, but deny the Consequence, and please themselves with a *Non Sequitur*: but I'le assure you, as modest as this man is in questioning it, there are as bold Asserters in Print, that affirm with confidence, with dint of *Satyr*, that these Royal Dispensations, are so many Breaches of Oaths, *Irregular* and Extrajudicial Proceedings. The late Letter to a *Dissenter*, that has rais'd such a dust, very slyly laughs it out of doors; as if it might be Extended to *Dispense* with their Belief of the Church of *Rome*'s Idolatry. A very pretty *Jest*, to spoil a Latinism, and *play* with his Soveraign, that is *Sacred*, as well as the *Religion*: but he is in earnest too, and tells them their acceptance of it, has *Retain'd* them as Counsel for the Prerogative against *Magna Charta*; and that *Parliaments* may pay them for it. The *Tryal* of the *New Test*, with Dr. *B*'s *Tune, another to the same*; are such severe *Satyrs* on the same Subject; such as the Government never suffer'd, I am sure in the most seditious Times: so that I do these Gentlemen no Wrong, if we may believe our Ears and our Eyes (and sense with such, cannot be deny'd an infallible Judge) when we lay at some of their doors, the designs of animating the People with the *Old Din* of *Arbitrary Power*; as the *Indians* do their Elephants, with a red Cloath, and bloody Colours.

The other old Out-cry that is set afoot, is the popular Clamour about Parliament, and must that too be taken *up*, by those that made such a Noise to Cry it *down*? But here these Gentlemen are more pettish and peevish, and harder to be pleas'd, than ever were the *Fanatiks*, they for their implacable spirit condemn'd: They would have a Parliament, and they would have none: so 'tis impossible to gratifie those that *contradict* themselves: but we'l suppose them, only some clashing *contrarities*; and so may be seemingly reconcil'd. They would have a *Redressing* Parliament, and not a Parliament of *Addressers*: and truly for that they now labour with all Artifice and Zeal, as if they intended to make every County an *Associated* One; but sure this way of

Working

working may put the Nation in a *ferment*; and we can say with sad Experience, it never yet procur'd the peoples *Peace*. Wise men will consider, tho' they are satisfy'd of the *goodness* of their Cause, never to use *bad* means to bring it about.

And I wish we were all so wise, and would do so too; but such is the Seditious industry of some, to *Create* those dangers *truly* out of *nothing*, when there are none to Invade them that are really near: And for this the Country shall be frighten'd with a Parliament of Courtiers, and the Protestants in General, that it may be made up of Roman-Catholicks, both those the most Panick Fears, and next to impossibilities; the Court never yet afforded us Members enough to make up a full Committee; and there are not Catholicks enough of great Estates in *England*, to serve *two* in a County: if Improbabilities won't be swallow'd, danger it self, like a black Pill must be *Gilded*, *to go down* the better, and *work* with the People; and they must be told of his Majesties interposition, that a Burgess must be made like a Bishop, with a * *Congee d'Eslire*; that he is resolv'd to have a Parliament for his purpose; (and sure, in desires that are *reasonable*, why should he not?) and such an one certainly is the design of settling a quiet both of Body and Soul, to all his Subjects. We are told from all the late Libells, that like Plague-Bills, or those of the Pox, are put into your hands: that *Returns* must serve instead of an *Election*, that the one will never be permitted to be *Fair*, and the other must sure be *Foul*. But these foolish insinuations any one may see are on purpose to create Faction and Fears; and tho' his Majesties desire are as Earnest as they are Reasonable, for relieving the distresses of his Subjects; and the giving ease, and equal privledg to all, yet he aims at no other end than the bringing it about by *Law*: Interest sure will never ly, and 'tis that obliges those that would have *Laws* Repeal'd, that the Authority be *Lawful* that Repeals them; and it would only afford another Parliament an Argument, to Void and Disanul what ever was *Done*, were the Constitution of the *Body* not qualify'd to *do it*. But perhaps they may find that by *Law* too, and that of their *own* making, his *Majesty* may meet with good

* *Vid*, Letter, and the Tryal of the *Test*, & *Burnets* Papers,

good *Returns* from moſt Corporations, ſince they won't queſtion ſure the Power of *Regulating*, which themſelves have given, & by which many of them too, not long ſince were glad to be brought into the Houſe of Commons, eſpecially by better *Law* now, ſince in all thoſe new Charters, there are expreſs Proviſoes for his Majeſties changing any *Part*, or altering the *Whole*. But is this now ſuch a new thing, to have the mind of the *Prince* ſet upon compaſſing, by the intereſt he has with the *People*, any point of State, that he judges convenient for the Welfare of Himſelf and Subjects? Thoſe that think ſo, are but little acquainted with Books or Hiſtory, and not to revolve *Old* things, have forgot tranſactions that are very *New*. I need not mind them, that there is hardly an account of any *Reign* that does not afford us an Inſtance. But tell them, that they gave us one themſelves, and that in the very *laſt*: With what Vigor the ſucceſſion was Invaded, they can *Boaſt*, to their own *Honour* it ſeems, and others *Shame*: and had not his Late Majeſty Interpos'd with his utmoſt Power, taking the Forfeiture of Franchiſes, and Regulating Corporations; they can *Glory* to ſome peoples *Reproach*, that the *Tide* had never been *Turn'd*; and will theſe men Tugg now againſt the ſame Stream they ſail'd down in ſo merrily? If their meaſures were ſo *Fair* then, how come the ſame Practiſes ſo *Foul* now? eſpecially when by preſident and reſtrictions, made more Warrantable too: for as they did *Well* to *Defend* the Right of *Succeſſion*; ſo the ſame *Succeſſor*, with as many of their fellow Subjects, think that *Liberty of Conſcience* can be as *well Defended*.

But I can tell them of greater Liberties, that have been taken by the Kings of *England*, tho' nothing like it has been here attempted now; and that is, if I miſtake not, in this very Point of *interpoſition* to Returns and Elections.

Richard the 2*d*. called all the *Juſtices* and *Sherifs* to *Nottingham*, ſays our Hiſtory, intimating that he was to call a Parliament, and that they ſhould uſe the matter ſo, that no Knight or Burgeſs ſhould be choſen, but ſuch as the King and Council ſhould name; 'tis true, their anſwer was peremptory, they could not do it: but he that reads the Hiſtory, will aſſoon the Reaſon. The Lords were in Arms, and a Rebellion

on in the Realm; and tho' this were not Justifyable by *Law*, it may serve to shew what great attempts have long since been made upon *Liberty*; when it was resolved *too* in in his Reign, *That the King could cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited*: I think this might have spoil'd the *Letter-Makers* Jest; upon the Elections of *Congee a' elire*, when it would have chang'd his *Liberty* of *Debate* too, into a *Merit* of *Obedience*: and yet these were the resolutions long since of Judges and Lawyers. But this I know they'l say, was only offer'd at by an *Arbitrary King*. I am sure an *unfortunate one*, and whom his Subjects us'd as *ungratefully*. But then wee'l turn the Tables, and tell them of a *Popular* one, whom they complimented into the Throne, and that is his immediate Successor: In the 6 of *Hen.* 4. he call'd a Parliament at *Coventry*, and some say in his process to the Sheriffs, and Writ of Summons, my Ld. *Coke* will only allow to be in his Letters, he Commands that no Lawyer shall be return'd a Knight or Burgess: And so by his Royal Authority it succeeded too. 'Tis true, in the next Year, and the next Parliament they petition'd for the Liberty of freer Elections, and had it granted them; however, this still proves, that such *Royal Interpositions* are not altogether new; and that in former Reigns, the Prerogative ran higher in this point.

So much for the *second* Section of the *same* old Clamours rais'd and reviv'd: and that the *Third* may be the *same* too, some Church-men have taken too *much* pains, and I wish I could say, to *little* purpose. No sooner was the Prince by Providence placed in his *Throne*, and whom their Sermons of Non-resistance they say solely set upon it; (tho' his fortunate Arms in the *West* did somewhat secure it too); but some of the very same men manag'd the matter so, as if they had a mind to preach him out again: *Arbitrary power*, *Popery*, *Protestant Religion*, was more the Theam of the Pulpit, than before it had been of the Fanaticks Papers and Pamphlets: and that at the same time that His Majesty had Commanded the *Priests* of his *own* perswasion to meddle with nothing that was controversial, * and which was as *Religiously* observ'd by them too. This was a *Great* indecency at

The Protestant Princes of *Germany* provided against such reflections on the Emperors Religion at the *Diet* at *Ratisbone*.

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least, if not a *little* Disobedience, especially when after the Kings Injunctions had satisfy'd them; He lookt upon it as tending to Sedition. Controversies never yet edify'd *much* out of a Pulpit, and it may be well wish't there were *less* of it in the Press. What * party was the *first* aggressor will not so soon be *found*, tho' that which *first* desists may be *found* the Wisest. Arguments may now be better Worded, as all Arts are by length of time improv'd; but the best of our *Vertuoso's* in Divinity, have with all their late *Experiments* hardly made any new *Discoveries*; and little has been said after they have labour'd so *much* on both sides, but what has been brought on the Stage before. People enter only the List *now* to shew their Courage, and make a Spectacle, and like *Gladiators* seem to draw by consent, and *assign* the Places of their Combate, and sure never was that sacred Science so truly *Polemical*: whereas after all, the Mysteries of *Religion* must either be left to God that gave it: to the Church that He has establish't, or to every *Individual Breast*. If to the *first*, we must leave off all disputes, and leave the Issue to God, and the Last day; if to a *Church*, then without doubt to a Universal and Catholick one: to which, if we submit to be guided by, we must *think* it Infallible, whatever it be; for sure 'tis best to trust most our Salvation where there is the *least* Error; and madness, to swear *Absolutely* to the *truth* of a thing that may *possibly* be *false*: And if the Bible, and the Books of Scripture as well interpreted, must be the guide, who shall be Judge of its being done so *well?* And I cannot see how a *National* Church, or *Establish't* one, that will not pretend to this Infallibility, can Command with Punishment, Pains, Death and Anathema, to believe as she does *interpret*, (unless we acknowledg'd that Church to be alwaies in the *right*, that has the *Power*): for if she punishes People for not believing Her to *Interpret well*, it will be hard for her to *avoid* an impossibility of *interpreting amiss*, and that will amount almost to somewhat of a *Judg* that cannot *Err*: so that unavoidably we fall into the last part of the Dilemma, of letting *every* one adhere to the *Expositions* and Principles of that *particular* Church, which agree best with his Reason, and are most satisfactory to his Soul.

* Some say the *Protestant* Side began first in their Sermons. *Vid.* Preface to the further Defence of the Bishop of *Condom.*

I confeſs, theſe Conſiderations weigh'd with me ſo much as to think an *Eſtabliſh't Toleration* unavoidable, both from the Circumſtances of the *State*, and the Doctrine of the *Church*; for as *Infallibility* is hard to be *believ'd*, ſo ſure 'tis more *hard* to think, a Church can force you to *Believe* Her, that does not pretend to it: and if an Alliance between *that* and *Liberty*, be ſuch a Contradiction; what an Abſurdity muſt Perſecution be from thoſe that will not preſume to be *Infallible?* and that an *Abſolute* or *Implicit* Subſcription to all her Articles, has been alway requir'd, I need not prove; ſince *Diſſenters* 'tis certain have often Offer'd *Conditional* Ones; and were not ſo much as ſuffer'd this modeſt Interpoſition, of ſubſcribing to her *Laws*, * as far as they were agreeable with thoſe of *GOD*, and the *Land*; which I wiſh, may not lay too much of the Schiſm at *their* door; that think it only to be ſuppreſt, with Severities and Executions: but while we muſter up theſe Arguments about Religion, we raiſe but the Legion of Spirits we would lay; and is only ſo far, from an Impertinence and Digreſſion, as it terminates to prove the neceſſity of a Tolleration, and the deſign of the Diſcourſe.

*So Adjudg'd, 33, 34. of *Eliz.* & were Rejected on the ſame Account in the Account in the 13, 14. *Car.* 2.

I do no Injury to them or the Truth, when I tell them *thus*; That the Din of *Proteſtant Religion*, has ſounded too much of late the alarum from the Pulpits; as if the Watch-man had been plac't upon the Top of the Tower, and ſeen the whole Hoſt of the *Aſſyrians*, to come up and beſiege the * City of *Jeruſalem*; *Martyrdom*, *Perſecution*, *Sufferings* have been the Subject of ſome Sermons, not as Paſſive Exhortations; but rather to create dreadful Apprehenſions, which can't be ſo well Juſtifi'd by ſuch as are fond for the retaining the Power of *Forcing*; and were it not ſo intended, the Preachers up of ſuch Suggeſtions, would ſee themſelves impertinent; when they take their Texts from all the miſeries of the afflicted, as if they were already in Torment: when they make the *Church* of *England* another *Smyrna*, and tell us of *her Tribulation of Ten Dayes*. Certainly this is not a ſeaſon of talking of *Fire* and Faggot; as if all *Smithfield* were in a Blaze; when the tenderneſs of the moſt Indulgent Monarch, makes it his care, that there may not be ſo much as a *Fine* Inflicted for Religion; when He proteſts, and declares to the contrary; and by Practice,

* A *City* that was of Old, *At unity with it ſelf.*

and the very *Powers* of his Prerogative (they will hardly grant him) has endeavour'd to make it good. Not only ſome Sermons, but ſeveral Books aſſert theſe ſuggeſtions to be ſober *Truth*; and I hope I ſhall not become any peoples *Enemy* for telling it: who if he were known, no one would imagine it Malice meant. I cannot think a *Particular* Invective, or Satyr of a Zealot, ought to be paum'd upon a *general* Aſſembly or the Church; or the whole Body ſuffer for any Members Fault, tho' they would do well too, to deal as fairly with the *Church* of *Rome*; and not reproach it for maintaining the *Depoſing Power*, and the *Deſtroying* of *KINGS*, when by their own Confeſſion, they find it only among *ſome* of their Writers; which by the *Sorbone* at *Paris*, were ſufficiently Condemned. 'Tis hard to tell a Church, *She* is of that Opinion which She generally denies; and ſhould another tell a Third what I think; were he in his Wits, he would ſooner take my word for it.

'Tis to be wiſh't ſhe would put in practice, what I know ſhe has often requeſted from the Church of *Rome* for it's Juſtification; to Diſcover and Cenſure ſuch as are Tranſgreſſours in theſe inflaming Diſcourſes, and by that beſt of Vindication, diſown them. I could recite ſome Paſſages to this purpoſe out of ſeveral Prints; but can in kindneſs forbear them too; ſince they are in pieces that have been *leſs* taken *notice* of; and ſhall only touch upon thoſe that are *more* generally *Known*. The *Notable Letter* to a *Diſſenter*; The *Tryal* and *Examination* of the *New Teſt of the Church of Englands Loyalty*: which Latter, tho' a Piece diſcommended by both Parties, for it's Zeal and Abuſe, ought to have been Anſwer'd with leſs Reflexion on the Crown; and the moſt ſeditious Papers of *Dr. B.* *All* theſe own themſelves under their Hand, Members of that Communion; while they induſtriouſly diſperſe things dangerous to the *State*, and diſagreeing to the Doctrines of that *Church* they would offer to defend. The whole drift and deſign of theſe Diſcourſes, is only to perſwade the People, That Popery is ſolely Concern'd; even where the *Proteſtant Religion* is ſo much promis'd to be Protected. I forbear to repeat Reflexions on a Government, that are Libels almoſt in their very repetition, to ſhoot back their *Arrows*, even *Bitter Words*, ſhould be ſo done too, that the *Plague* might be

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ſtay'd, without *ſpreading* the *Infection*: he is but a bad *Doctor*, that comes with a *Doſe* in his *Pocket*, and the *Diſeaſe* in his *Face*: It would be but little ſervice at this time to the Crown, to reprint a *Diſcourſe* of *Tollcration Diſcuſt*, for the ſake of ſome *Cold* animadverſions upon it; * and ſo moſt *Officiouſly* Confute with an *Imprimatur*, what is a *Duty* to ſilence, and ſuppreſs *Sedition* that is ſet off with ſuch ſmooth Inſinuations, ſhould be dealt with like a Wench, that has us'd much dawbing; who is then beſt *Expos'd*, when you have pull'd off ſome Petticoats, and waſh't away her Paint; for the Preſs, and Printing, depends upon it's Management, and is onely an undecided and Indifferent Engine and Art; either of *pretended Good* to the Government, or *real Ill*.

* *Vid.* an Anſwer to a Letter to the Diſſenter.

I come now in the next place to make ſome Remarks upon another Method that has been taken to hinder the meeting of another *Healing Parliament*; and that is not only in Diſcouraging all Addreſſes to the KING that intimated their inclination towards it; but even the returning ſo much as Thanks to His MAJESTY, for Repeating of his Promiſes to protect a Church, that has given him the greateſt Power in Eccleſiaſticals: and all this ungrateful obſtinacy for the ſake of *Religion* too; and as their beſt *Reaſons* are, leſt it ſhould be thought to be *Precarious*: 'Tis to be Lamented, to ſee ſo Learned a Body that was lately ſo Signaliz'd, (as ſome ſaid) for a *Criminal* Obedience, a *Paſſive* one: and burnt thoſe Authors in Effigie, that could not come up to their moſt Meritorious Opinions. 'Tis hard to ſee *ſuch*, ſo ſuddenly chang'd, as to think it no *Crime*, the * *Diſ-*

Vid. *Oxford.* Reaſons. Letter, *&c.* Dr. *B.* &c.

* The *Caſe* of their *Conteſting College*, tho' *Conſcience* must give it ſuch a *modeſt* Complection, was, in plain terms, the greateſt *Contumacy* to their *King*; *Conſcience* (if ever a pretence) was truly made ſo here, for not to mention his Majeſties *Diſpenſation*, and their own *Diſpenſing* with ſome of their *Coll. Statut.* or their Societies having *ſubmitted* to the ſame Caſe, and ſo confeſt it in former Reigns, 'tis known to *both* the *Univerſitys*, that where the *Stat.* of their *Colledge* obliges them to Elect their Fellows only from *ſuch* a County, that *themſelves* have put Perſons of *another* to move for a Mandamus, and brought them in too, with a *Non Obſtante* to their *Statutes* and their *Oaths*. But beſides, neither of thoſe are Concern'd, for the Mandate of their King is an *abſolute* command to *Admit*; and their obligation to their *Oaths*, is only in thoſe Points, where they are left to *Elect*. In ſhort, their Combining to be ſtubborn, was but a Confederacy againſt the Power of their Prince, whoſe *Proceedings* will *Abound* with Juſtice, when their Puniſhment may *Want* Pity.

obeying

obeying of their *Bishop*, and *Opposing* their *KING*. 'Tis strange, that such Men must be so sparing of their *Thanks* now to their PRINCE, that *once* thought they could never return enough (when even for a common Kindness, we usually say among our selves, *Thank ye Twice*); and to say that for the *same* assurance, they had Addrest long since, when He came to the Throne; was but little better, than telling His *Majesty*, He might have *spar'd* his Complement, and this Condescension to his Subjects, was a sort of *Supererrogation*. I could never imagine what was the meaning of such Irreverent *Reservedness* in so many Members of a *Church*, that was once so *Forward*, as to fall under some Peoples Lash for *Officious*: but some Persons now, upon the pretence of their Integrity, are tickl'd with the Vanity of being Fam'd for *stout*, and *standing to their Principles*; and Men of such a temper, from the Fame that they affect, must endeavour to be surly and morose; but this is still, but a desperate sort of *Imprudence*, if we consider the Case that Occasions this Discourse, no *Wise* Man will be still and sturdy to those that can *humble* him; and when the *Insolency* of the Provocation may procure more Mischiefs, *than* any by all his *Bravery* he can defy.

* Tryal of the New Test. Page 6,

To tell us that a * *Legal* Establishment will force a *Legal* Protection, and that the King has *sworn* to defend the *Church*, as bold upbraidings as they be to the *Crown*, are but *bad* Encouragement to continue their KING's Kindness, and as Lame excuses for their Ingratitude; for sure the Countenance of a Prince would be somwhat of a preservative too, and not indanger their *Security* from the *Law*: whatever *Oath* he took to Protect their Religion, he did not *Swear* too to put out his Declaration of Assurance also; and tho' he be oblig'd to Govern by *Law*, I don't know what *Law* obliges him to tell them so often that He *Will*; In this sure His Majesty has *done* More than he was bound to do; and then, those that are deficient in their dutiful Return, can never have done so *much*: no *Silly* Sophistry, no *Foolish Fear* will wipe away the Scandal of such a reasonable reproach; and it will sound a little harsh, (tho' the danger were such indeed) when some of Her Enemies shall observe,

observe, that for keeping out some Popish *Secluded Members*, the Loyal Church of *England*, is now the *Non-addressers*. But to do Her Justice too, some of her Bishops upon more serious Consultations, did atone for a more General defect, and *Oblig'd* their Communion by a *Prudential* Act, that fain would have been so improvidently *Wise* as to *Disoblige* her self.

I could superadd here, that other silly Suggestion of the Restitution of *Abby-Lands*; were not the Panick Fear of it Superseded by a Learned Treatise, and the Confirmation of them from the Pope, even in the time of Queen *Mary*; the common Intrest of *Papists* to Oppose it, and that his Majesty might as well set up a Court of *Wards* and *Liverys*; and so make *All Lands* ly at his Mercy: and that He himself has *Assur'd* them Expressly to the *Scots*, and our selves since in his Proclamation.

SECT. VI.

The Means *that may be us'd to Prevent the* Malice *and* Insinuation *of* Such *as would* Obstruct It.

AND now at length, we are arriv'd to put a Period to these Points; and having consider'd the *Methods* that have been us'd to *Hinder* this Healing Parliament, we are come to the *Sixth* and last *Section*, to Consider the Sixth Point; *The means how to Prevent the Designs and Insinuations of such as would Obstruct It.*

And for that, reflect but a *little* on these following *Considerations*: if they have but little Weight with them, you are not burdned *much*; if they have *not* a little, 'tis your Intrest to bear with them.

Consider, That notwithstanding the specious pretences, of some spiteful and malicious men, these dreadful apprehensions that are put into your heads, may be none at all; at least not such as they are represented; that the Authors of them may be men that oppose his Majesties Gracious intention, more out of malice to him, than kindness to themselves, and their *Church*: I speak to *Church-men* (for Dissenters can't be

be ſuppos'd diſſatisfy'd with that mercy that makes them happy beyond their expectation) but they are Members, I believe of this *Eſtabliſht Church* (for all the many Letters to the other Congregations) that from the preſent Conſtitution of our Government, I fancy muſt for the *moſt* part be concern'd that can *beſt* Second the Clemency of their KING, and confirm to them an *eſtabliſht* Toleration by a Law, and ſuch an one as will repeal *All* thoſe by which they have a long time ſo *unreaſonably* ſuffer'd.

I. *'Tis Reaſonable to be done.*

II. *'Tis Fitteſt for them to do it.*

III. *'Tis Their Intereſt ſo to do.*

And firſt, let them tell me, their beſt pretenders to *Reaſon*; whether the ſuffering for Conſcience ſake, can without the greateſt reluctance of Conſcience it ſelf, be defended; or whether it's advocates are not toucht with an inward averſion, at the ſame time they write for it, eſpecially, ſhould they reflect, it may be their turn to ſuffer? whether a *body* ought to ſuffer for the ſentiments and ſuggeſtion of the *Soul* that informs it, when it conſiſts only in the Worſhipping of the ſame God, in which all Chriſtian Churches agree? ſure theſe men are not ſo fond of the Fire and Faggot they ſo much fear, as to Juſtifie for it the perſecution of the Primitive Chriſtians, and make their Martyrdoms but ſo many Judicial Proceſſes for their Nonconformity, when of the old *Heathen* Emperors, few were of Opinion in this Point, to Puniſh people into Compliance: the *Chriſtian* Religion, I think, is *now* ſo well ſettl'd, and the *Seed* of the *Church*, ſo well ſown, that there is no great need of the *Sanguis Martyrum* to water it; neither is the repreſentation of it in this manner ſo improper, or the compariſon ſo abſurd; for tho there may be a better Warranty to force people of the ſame Faith in Chriſt, to the worſhipping their God in an *Eſtabliſht* Way, than the *Pagans* could pretend to, for the forcing us to be *Infidels*; yet this would juſtify them *ſtill*, who thought their Irreligion and Idolatry the beſt of Devotion, and had the Decrees of their Emperors to Authoriſe it; which were with them the Statutes and Laws of the Land: and

I am ſorry that I can add, that ſuch ſeverities amongſt our ſelves, ſeem *much* worſe, when we agree in one *common Faith*, in one *Creed*, in one Chriſt Jeſus: neither is the compariſon of the Puniſhment, and ſort of Suffering ſo abſur'd; for tho' we do not exerciſe, by our Laws, the *Long Sheet* in *Foxes Martyrology*, and are left, as we ſee the *Heathens* were there, to ſtudy Torment; tho' the *Flames* that he has made to rage ſo ſtrongly through his vaſt Volumms, are happily quencht, all Burnings forbidden, and Religion no more to ſuffer with a Writ *de' Heretico:* it will be as little credit to *it ſtill*; that 'tis *now*, no *Fire* and *Faggot* that can force a Conſcience, but only an *Hangman* and an *Halter*. 'Tis *true*, that whatever has been the ſeverity of the Laws, ſuch cruelties have ſeldom been put in Execution; but to ſay, they never were, is as certainly *falſe:* Several in Queen *Eliz.* Reign, ſuffer'd meerly for profeſſing of their Faith, and my ſelf remember *three* that dy'd for it, and that *only* for being Prieſts, in the late Perjurious time of Arbitrary Oaths, and pack't Evidence, beſides, *another* that was condemn'd and baniſht; whom I have met with ſince in his Exile. But whatever be the *Mercy* of the King, the *Cruelty* of the Laws can never be the more defended, and they are never the more *Merciful* becauſe of the *Clemency* of the Prince that remits them. In the mean time, ſuch bloody ſanctions are certainly blots to that Religion that keeps them upon Record; and if we *commend* thoſe that are for retaining them, we muſt at the ſame time *blame* thoſe that but ſo lately repeal'd the Writ *de Comburendo.*

So *much* for the *Reaſon* of them, and but this *little* for *Fact*; they cannot tell us of any Country that is Proteſtant, nor of any Catholick, but where the Inquiſition is Eſtabliſht, where it is made Capital to profeſs a particular Faith, even in *France* (whoſe Cruelty is decry'd ſo much) tho' the *fugitives* are driven to the Galleys, they are not gon ſo far yet, as for *profeſſing*, to make it Death. How quietly do thoſe peaceable Countries Flouriſh, where at this time for Conſcience there is no Oppreſſion at all? The celebrated Dr. ought to have Magnify'd *that* too, as well as the Miſery of thoſe places where any Perſecution reigns. The Proteſtant and Popiſh Churches,

I've ſeen ſtand very Quietly together in moſt of the * frontier Towns of *Holland*; and in the Dominions of ſeveral PRINCES of *Germany*: and the Magiſtracy by * turns Executed by the two different Perſwaſions, without any Laws for *Hanging* or *Burning* one another; and 'tis ſure, no *Bad* Preſident, if we only take Example by our *Proteſtant Neighbours*.

* *Maſtrich, Breda,* &c.
* *Heidelberg. Ausburg* and *Duſeldorp.* By the Treaty at *Munſter* & *Oſnabrugh.*

But as ſome of our Laws are *ſanguinary* for Matters of meer *Religion:* ſo there are others that are leſs ſevere, tho' as inconſiſtent with the Charity of a *Church*, or the Quiet of a *State*; ſuch as *Fines*, *Confiſcations* and *Impriſonments*; and what Inconveniences they have brought upon the *Nation* in *general*, as well as the poor Sufferers in *particular*, we have touch't upon before, and now as needleſs to relate. The Diſcovery of thoſe vaſt Summs of which the KING is defrauded, may hereafter make appear what was Extorted from the *Subject*, to the Enriching of ſome *Knaves*, and the Ruine of more *Honeſt* Families.

But the preſſing the *Reaſonableneſs* of it ſo much, ſeems almoſt unneceſſary, when the moſt inviſible Commiſſioner from the *Church* that is *ſo Concern'd*, comes up *ſo far*, as to countenance with his Celebrated *Reaſonings* the *Unreaſonableneſs* of theſe ſevere Sanctions; by ſeeming ſo willing to *Suſpend* them for the ſake of *ſome* Diſſenters, & not *others:* & ſhall this be taken for *Reaſon* too? ſure the Univerſities will teach him better Logick. I know the Aphoriſms of their Schools in ſome Sence ſay; *That of Contraries there is the ſame Reaſon*; but ſure they won't make it out in *Contradictories* too. Is then *Tolleration?* is the *Repealing* of the **Laws** *Reaſonable*, for the ſake of *ſome* Diſſenters, and not *others?* I don't know what they fear of *Arbitrary* **Power**, I am ſure this is *Arbitrary* **Reaſoning**; and but little better than *none* at *all*. The *Letter* might have been a little *more* Contracted; to ſay *much* in a *little*, and all the ſolidity of his mighty Argument made up into *one* ſyllogiſm (i. e.) *It is but* **Juſt** *that all the* **Penal** *Laws for Religion, ſhould be Repeal'd; but that all Penal Laws for Religion, ſhould be Repeal'd, is* **not Juſt**; Ergò, *The Laws againſt the* **Roman Catholicks**, &c. If there be any Contradiction in the Terms and Premiſes; who

who can help it? for certainly ſuffering for Religion, muſt be the ſame to *All*, whatever are the Profeſſors of it; and if we once grant it *unreaſonable* to *ſome*, then preſently to *all* unprejudic'd *Reaſon*, untainted with Intereſt and art, it muſt conclude *Univerſally*, and extend to All; and I *know* theſe *Barbarous* Logicians *know* ſo too, and include in it both *Turk* and *Jew*, and any thing that's *Pagan*, unleſs it be Mr. *Johnſons* * the *Papiſt*.

Are then the Roman Catholicks *no Diſſenters?* or are they *Diſſenters* with you worſe than Infidels? for it ſeems, for the *Chriſtian* Proteſtant *Diſſenters*, the *Circumcis'd Diſſenters*, the *Mahometan Diſſenters*, and the *Pagan Diſſenters*; theſe *Perſecuting Laws* are *too* Cruel and Severe. May * Birthright, * Humanity, * and Property, be concern'd in the Caſe, and made Motives to the removing of what is Injurious, Scandalous, or Prejudicial to them; and cannot Roman Catholicks come in for a ſhare by Birth, by Nature, or common Equity; or are Papiſts not Born to the Privileges of Society; are they all Beaſts, or all Beggars? (and truly if we may truſt ſome deſcriptions, not long ſince applauded, they have ſet them out but little better. Sure this is not the way for continuing the Fame of that Church, for being alway on the * *Charitable ſide toward Papiſts*; this will inſtead of *having her Charity miſtaken*, ſhew that ſhe *miſtakes her Charity*. It would be a more *Charitable Act* for this Church, by way of an expedient, to get *one Statute* to paſs for making the Papiſts *Perfect Out-Laws* (*i. e.*) as my Ld. *Coke* expounds it, to be *hunted like Woolfes*, then to keep *Twenty-four* in Force, for their Confuſion, Death, and Deſtruction. How can it be anſwer'd either to *God* or *Man*, when by ſo publick an *Act* as a *National Repeal*, you declare, that to make men ſuffer for Religion is *Barbarous* and *Inhuman*, and at the ſame time you leave upon Record the ſevereſt of thoſe ſufferings in their fulleſt force; this is filing up ſuch a laſting reproach to your ſelves, that you would ſeem to take care, leſt *time* ſhould take it off, and the Infamy fail to be tranſmitted to *poſterity*.

But as by *Nature* and *Charity* they muſt *come in* for a Common ſhare, ſo I ſee no reaſon of *State*, no *Civil* Con-

* *Vid.* His Popery & paganiſm.

* By 1 *Eliz.* 3. *Fac.* 25. *Car.* 2d. & 30. They are deny'd Office, they are debar'd from Sitting in Parliament, to which they are *Born.*

* By 35. *Eliz.* 3. *Fac.* They are forbid the Court & Company, Towns and City.

* By 31. *Eliz.* 13. *Fac.* 3 *Car.* 1. Their Aſſurances, Wills, Legacies, Truſts voided, Goods confiſcated, Eſtates forfeited.

* *Vid.* Tryal of the New *Teſt.* page 1.

cern that Obliges you to keep them *out*; 'tis but a bad argument of the *Clergy* (as often as 'tis us'd) when from the *Popes* Supremacy, they make all *Papists* such mortal Enemies to all Monarchs; they might as well prove that by *their* own swearing to obey their *Metropolitan*, they part with their Allegiance to the *King* of *England*, and so set *Lambeth* too against *Whitehall*: 'Tis profest by them *All*, they acknowledg no other Power of the Pope but in *Spirituals*; and Protestants will tell them that they *do*, whatever they *do* or *say* to the contrary; nay, tho' some have disallow'd even *that*, and will no Practise to the contrary please them? does not the King of *Spain*, the most Catholick King alive, live *as free* from Rebellions (I am asham'd to say more) then the King of *England?* is not the King of *France* as absolute as our own at *Home*, & as ready to quarrel with *Rome* upon the least diminution of his Right? and to come *homer* to our *selves*, have not our *own* Laws justl'd out this Jealously with the *Popes* Pretentions, in several † Statutes, under our *Catholick* Kings.

But besides their *Principles* (as to their particular *Practise* and behaviour) have they not given *England* Proof enough, they can live in it like good Subjects; and if we put the *Test* of their *Loyalty*, against *That* made to *prevent Dangers from Popish Recusants*, I am afraid it will spoil all the *Præamble*. Gentlemen, Matter of Fact confirms it; and 'tis in vain to dispute: They Fought with You for CHARLES the FIRST, in the *Field*; and They *alone* Preserv'd the SECOND in the *Royal Oak*; forsook their Fortune at *Home*, and follow'd Him in his Exile *Abroad*. The *Best* of *Protestants* could do no *more*; tho' some might fare *better* that did not so *much*: and *their* being among the *Rebels*, is but a Libel of * *Burnet*'s, both on the †KING's Declaration, and

† Vid. *Stat. of Carlile* of *Proviſos*, &c.

* This their Celebrated Dr. has made K. *James* 1. to *curse* his *Posterity*: K. *Charles* 1. to *betray his Friends*, *Char.* 2*d.* to *deceive his People*, *James* 2*d.* to *Oppress* his *Subjects*: as if He had laboured to ly under the Glorious Infamy of Libelling *four* Kings in *one* piece of Paper; as if his Quarrel were too meanly commenc'd, if it did not terminate in the lasting Reproach of our whole *Scottish* Line, and he had better Authority to do it, because himself a *Scot*, and his *Soveraign Lords* were all at *last* to suffer, because his *Master* by him was at *first* Betray'd. *Vid.* Papers, *page* 12. 36. 23. 1.

† How can this *Establisht Church*, if it has any Veneration to the *Dust* of their Late *Protestant Prince Deceas'd?* applaud, approve of the Writings of such an Injurious Impostor that would have his *Name* Buried too; and that tells them, *The greatest Kindness that can be done to His Memory*, is to *Forget Him*. Page 23.

them.

them: which is ſufficiently Baffl'd by the well-known Story of *Coll. Aſhton*; who, when refus'd by *his* KING, was Courted into Commiſſion by the Parliament; which, aſſoon as Receiv'd, he Laid himſelf and That at His Majeſties Feet. This is as certain, as that ſome *Proteſtant* Subjects were in Rebellion; which, if ſuch a thing muſt Reflect on a *Church*, I am afraid *that* will very much ſuffer: and to ſay the *National* and Eſtabliſh't *Church* did diſown all ſuch Proceedings, will not much mend the Matter, when ſo *many* of her Members were ſo *mainly* concern'd; for tho' the Sectaries at laſt prevail'd, for the ſubverting of the *State*; the Commons of *Forty-One* that Commenc'd the Quarrel were generally *Churchmen*; and 'tis not impoſſible for ſuch to be Zealous, and Diſcontented too; neither is the Communion bound to anſwer for the faults of thoſe members ſhe Condemns; the Lord Lieutenants that this Parliament choſe, were for the moſt part *Conforming* men, and *Eſſex*'s Army had *many* ſuch Officers too; ſome can tell us this for a *truth*, that liv'd then, and their Catalogue for the Militia makes it no *ly*. 'Tis too much to *remember*, and too ſoon to *forget*, that moſt of the *Excluding Members* were of *that* Communion, as well as all the moſt Eminent Conſpirators in the laſt Plot and Rebellion; and even her *Paſſive Obedience* was Burleſque by one that publickly profeſt himſelf her ſon: I ſpeak it not for a diſparagement to the Church, that was then beyond diſpute, both in *Principal* and *Practiſe* faithful to the *Crown*: but to ſatisfy ſuch men, that it is both imprudent and irrational for them to fling out ſuch arguments as will fly in their face; and as unjuſt to cenſure a whole Perſwaſion, only for the fault of ſome of it's Profeſſors: for *King-killing* and *depoſing*, to condemn a Catholick Communion; and from the writings of a *Jeſuit* to upbraid the *Church* of Rome, and that in Terms too bitter for a Prayer; to make their *Religion* to be *Rebellion*, and their *Faith Faction*.

And ſo much for the *Reaſon* of a *Legal Toleration*, and *General Comprehenſion*. Now to ſhew too, that the *Members of the Church Eſtabliſht*, ought to be willing to get it *Done*: And that 2*d*. *It is fitteſt for them to do it*.

And *firſt*, they muſt remember, that by *themſelves* theſe Laws were

were *made*; and as a learned Lawyer lets us know, that he is the *best Judg of a Law that has the Power to make it*; so we may say, those that *make* it; when it happens to become unreasonable, are the **Fittest** to get it *Repeal'd*: if the *Prelates* are become *less riged*, if the *Spirit* of *Persecution* is turn'd into a *Spirit* of *Peace*, if they make no matter of *Conscience* to give *Indulgence*, what greater proof can they give of *all* this, then by their *own* voluntary Cancelling those severe Laws, which *themselves* must own, for some considerations of State were *only* made? This would be a much better evidence of their more merciful disposition then *all* the Promises of *T.W.* It will be no such *scandal*, tho' it be *true*, when *all* that can be said, is, **You were overseen**: *Length* of time, and revolution of affairs, tell People at *last* their *long* errors, tho' commonly too *late*, and *then* for the most part make men *wise*, when they cannot make *amends* for their *folly*. But Fortune seems to favour you **now**, and puts it in your Power, to *mend all* that was *amiss*; she seems to Court your Inclinations, and tempt you, to **Credit your selves, Gratify your KING, and Pleasure all.**

In the next place, I hope it will be as plain, That 3*d*, *It is their Interest so to do.*

First, Because 'tis *they themselves* that have asserted the Kings *Power* in Ecclesiasticals to be **such**; that it may be much to their detriment to Provoke **such** a Prince, whom **they** by Law have made so *Powerful*; neither is it such a *Childish* reason, that it must be *dally'd* with, or laught out of doors, as an **Author** does it, with * a *Legal Establishment (even whilst it remains so) legally subverted.* It may be done Sir, without such a deal of *Contradiction*, when People make *Laws* that *Contradict* themselves: if *Popish Recusants are so dangerous*, that they must not be *Tolerated* in *England* by a *Law*, and we have such *Laws*, that set the King as Supream, *to do whatsoever the Pope could have done*; **Papists** may well expect to be Protected from such a *Catholick* King, and perhaps **Protestants** owe to **His** Promises **most** of their Security: the *Review* of *their first-Fruits, to the full Value*, as little as it terrify'd the *bright Spirits* of *Oxford*, may perchance be found the smallest part of the Prerogative; and tho' such a *Canon* could not *Frighten* them so far as to comply with their *Di-*

* *Vid.* Tryal of the New *Test.* page 6.

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occaſan (if matters are to be manag'd *meerly* by the Laws that are made) I fear there may be ſome found that empower the Prince to *deprive* them of a *Biſhop*.

Secondly, They will do wondrous *well*, I will not ſay *wiſer*, if they do it *themſelves*, if only for fear, leſt *others* ſhould do it *for them*: I much doubt, if Diſſenters ſhould once come to be the Prevailing part in a Parliament, whether they would make ſo good *terms* for this *Eſtabliſht-Church*, as ſhe might do (if ſhe pleas'd) for *her ſelf*. The King has given her very good words for it, and I wiſh ſhe may not forgo the Benefit of them; He has promis'd to Protect, and doubtleſs will not deny her any reaſonable means for her Preſervation: if he has a mind to do her *Good*, how can ſhe be angry, if he'll only keep her from doing *ill*? the perſecutors of *Daniel* could find no *Occaſion againſt him, but in the Caſe of his God*; but yet we ſaw the King *labour'd* to *deliver him*. 'Tis not to be doubted, if ſhe comply with *his Majeſties* requeſt, he will refuſe *Hers*; and why may ſhe not be as ſafe with an Act of *Jac. 2d.* for *Eſtabliſhing her the National Religion*, tho ſhe part with the 13 *Eliz.* for *hanging up all that differ from her?* It will never be the *worſe* Church, becauſe it cannot do more *ill*. And the Notion that ſome ſort of people have got in their Noddles, of the Neceſſity of ſuch Laws in a *Church*, for the Support of what is the *Religion* of the *State*, is falſe both in *Reaſon* and *Fact*; for certainly, *that* may be ſupported without ſurpreſſing all other Opinions; and there is no need that a Jeſuit muſt be *Gibbeted*, and other Diſſenters *Baniſh't*, and *Hang'd* too if they *return*, and that *Sanguinary Laws* muſt be ſubſervient to an *Act of Uniformity*: 'Tis no more, then if a man ſhould tell you; Look you Sir, moſt People are of our mind, and we can get a Patent to make you think ſo too; and if you *wont* believe what you *cant* believe, or believe *all* that we *can* believe, you muſt even ſuffer what comes on't, be it Fine, Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or Death; why, a moral *Heathen* would be divided in his paſſions at the nonſenſe of ſuch ſeverity; and *Democritus* himſelf in a doubt, whether he ſhould *laugh* or *cry*; and ſuch partial *Chriſtians* muſt Bluſh too when they blame the Proceedings of the moſt *Chriſtian* King; and whom they.

they make for it too in their fam'd Antiphrasis even *Antichrist* himself. But one would think that doubt should be out of doors, of a *Church Establisht* by *Law*, not to be able to subsist, without it reserve a Power by *Law*, to punish all others: when the *Present* practise of so many *Forreign States*, proves the Consistency, and we have the promise and experiment of too KINGS Reigns, that it *shall*, and *can* be so in ours at *home*.

'Tis to no purpose, to *Tattle* us out of the Integrity of a good Action, with the *tale* of a *Tub*, or *fool* away a prudential Act, with an Æsop's **Fable**, * *To tell us* of the *Conditions of Peace, that were made upon the surrendring* of the **Dogs**, and that the **Sheep**, afterward, were worried by the **Wolves**: Setting aside the *malice* of the Application, it is most *foolish*, and impertinent, when the *contrary* is *more* true, and these *sanguinary Laws* are to be laid aside, and that **only** for their *sucking* of *blood*; and sure 'tis not the first time too, we have known **Dogs to worry Sheep.**

* *Vid.* Tryal of the New *Test*, &c. p. 5.

And *Lastly*, Common gratitude to so good a King should Perswade this Church to Comply with his reasonable requests: has he discountenanc'd any of them, but such as have incurr'd it by this Obstinacy, perhaps more *imprudent*, than *safe?* And had the **Parliament** *dissolv'd*, but a little *condescended*, I fancy there would not have been so *much* work cut out for *this*: Has not the **King**, whose *Royal* dispensations qualify *all*, prefer'd them *Equally*, both in *Court* and *Camp*, making every mans *merit* his promotion, without examining of his *Faith?* Has there a **single** man been prefer'd to any Benefice or Cure, but such as have been qualify'd by Law, tho some perhaps have been *dispens'd* with to keep them, that for altering their Religion, they might not **starve.**

* *In Edw.* the Sixths Reign, even from the confession of Doctor *Burnet*, most of the Bishops, only for being true to their old perswasions, were *troubl'd*, were turn'd out *Illegally*, were imprison'd several years: till Queen *Marys* Reign, *Vid.* the continuance of his Reflection on Mr. *Varillas*, pag. 63. And sure our present Bishop of *Londons* Case was never yet so hard, tho so highly resented.

* Where is this mighty progress for the introducing of Popery? The KING now is going into his *fourth* year, and the Church stands still as it was four years agon; and the Mighty Din, of the measures and *faggot* of *Queen Mary*, is as much to the Purpose, as if they told us of the *fire Ordeal* of *Queen Emm: She* remov'd *all* the Bishops in no more than *one* year; and I think *Queen Eliz.* did it *all* in *one* Month: and here, since *Appropriating* of Loyalty is so much in fashion,

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we cannot but ſay this for the Papiſt too, (whoſe Fidelity to the Crown is too much queſtion'd :) this *Proteſtant* Queen was *by their own Confeſſion*, and as it plainly appears from our *own* Annals, advanc'd to the Throne, by a Popiſh Parliament, *then* ſitting; and no one can tell, had they been ſitting at KING *Charles* the Seconds Death, of what temper they would have been, the Legitimacy of Queen *Eliz.* was then in *diſpute* amongſt *all* Catholicks; the Succeſſion of his preſent Majeſty was *indiſputable* by his *blood*, and yet *Heath* the Popiſt Metropolitan and *then* Lord Chancellor, without any *diſcontent*, ſays their *own* * Hiſtorian, declares her Title to the Crown, to *both* Houſes of Parliament, and ſo was ſhe receiv'd without the leaſt oppoſition, which certainly does ſavour ſomwhat of an *Unqueſtionable Loyalty:* And if that wont ſerve, the ſame Author ſays more, *That many in the Houſe of Commons that had a great zeal for their Popiſh intereſt, yet Preferred their Allegiance to their Natural Prince, before their concernments for the Church of Rome.* And this is ſure more Loyalty than was ſhown by the Proteſtant Reformers to her Predeceſſor, againſt whom they ſet an Uſurper in the Throne, contriv'd a Will, and rais'd an Army; tho ſo much muſt be ſaid for the Suffolk-*Goſpellers* of the *Country*, that they were better Subjects, then the mighty *Liturgy* men at *Court*, and aſſiſted *Queen Mary* with *Men* and *Arms*, when the other kept from her the *Capital* and the *Crown*.

* *Vid.* Heylins Reformation. Page 101.

page 107.

Queen *Eliz. held* more Biſhopricks in her hand for *many* years, *many more*, then *this* KING ſince his coming to the Crown has *diſpos'd* of: their Churches, their Chappels are all at their own Devotion, and *that* within his Royal Pallaces, and his own Walls. Upon Application of theſe very People, has he confirm'd to them ſeveral *Freedoms* and *Immunities*, where he might have interpos'd with his *Power*, and *Prerogative:* Theſe undiſtinguiſht favours to all alike, one would think ſhould oblige ſome perſons not to deny that *Peace* to their *Soveraign*, which he labours to give to all his *Subjects*; A *Peace* of *Mind*, A *Peace* in the midſt of *Arms*; but ſuch only as are employ'd for their *defence*, the *credit* of their Nation, and the *Terror* of their neighbours; tho even that muſt be made their * *Grievance* too, which by the *Goodneſs*, and *Grandeur* of their Prince, is their *greateſt Glory*.

* *Dr. Burnets* Papers.

But there are many things besides to be consider'd; *consider* but the *reason* of Enacting these Laws, especially against *Popish Recusants*, upon whom they are *most* severe, and that they are now become the *most* unreasonable; because the very occasions that call'd for them, and to some people seem'd to make them necessary, are now just none at all: the *Preambles* to *those* very Statutes seen but so many Contradictions to the *body* of the Law. It would be hard for a *Judge* or *Justice* to tell the *King* of his *dangers from Popish Recusants*, when he's sure he can put his greatest faith, and confidence in them, and has so often try'd them in *dangers* too: but it seems *they* and the *Statutes* being the better *Judges* of it, are not bound to believe the *KING*, but to Prosecute his friends for *High Treason*, whom trusting and trying, he finds to be guilty of no *Treason* at all. And had not our *Protestant* officers of the * *Peace* better *repeal* those *Laws*, that are become but a *dead letter*, then ly under a seeming sort of Perjury, for not putting them in Execution?

Consider, if in the time of the late KING, by some Antecedent †*Law* all the Conformists had been *banisht* the *Court*, or from *Access* to the *Kings Person*, if they had been made *Malefactors*, *Felons*, and *Traytors*, of whose Loyalty he had so much proof in their adhering to the Crown, would not his Majesty have been *bound* to get them *repeal'd*, and *themselves* have thought it the most *reasonable* thing in the world, that the Roman Catholicks in *England* have for a long time lain under severity not only of Opinion, and Censure, but Punishment and the Law? even Protestants may allow, without falling from their *Faith*, or favouring their *Religion*: for such a modest confession in their favour, is no Vindication of the Doctrine of their *Church*; and their Case to be consider'd here, respects only their affairs in relation to the *State*; and the matters being *meerly* Political, must be determin'd by the Maxims of our *States-men*, and so no Subject to be decided by the School-men and *Divines*: And since those Persons suffer from the Constitution of Past-times, partial to themselves, since Papists that were once *deny'd* access to the *person* of their *KING*, are now the *Support* of his *Crown* and *Dignity*, since such put in but for a freedom from *Penalty*, and an Im-

* What can even the *Church* suffer, from the *Repeal*, that it is not expos'd to from the Kings *dispensation?* And the malice of their Dr. *Burnet* makes them the *same* Reflections, on the K. *Declaration.*

† *Vid.* Q. *Eliz.* K. *J.* K. *Ch.* before Cited.

Immunity only from their being *puniſht* as Malefactors, it would be as great a want of *honeſty*, to call them *Knaves* for it, as it is of *Wit*, to think them *fools*.

But the *Abſurdity* of ſuch unreaſonable Laws is ſomwhat more Conſiderable, when they ſeem not a little to touch, what is expreſly forbidden, *The Lords Anointed:* Let them tell me, where there is another ſuch *abſurd* inconſiſtency of *State*, where the *Statutes* and *Laws* ſerve only to pollute their very *Fountain*, the KING; and make a *Criminal* of the *Prince* to that very Government in which he *Preſides*, where the Worſhip of his *GOD* muſt be ſaid to be an Offering to Idols, and his Converſion to a Faith, *High Treaſon againſt himſelf.*

And then again, ſince Papiſts, as 'tis now apparent, have prov'd themſelves No ſuch Criminals to the State, No ſuch Peſts of Society, as they have been repreſented; ſince they have *Suffered* the Severities of the Nations Juſtice, and ſeal'd their Innocency in their *Sufferings* and *Blood*; ſince they were ſacrific'd to the Perjury of *Recorded Villains*, and for a Conſpiracy that can *now* only be Believ'd by *Fools* upon Record: 'tis time ſure, after this Juſtice of the Nation has been ſatisfy'd ſo *much*, even to the * *Arraigning* of it ſelf, to let them find a *little* Mercy too; and the *more* (one would think) for their Misfortunes.

* Vid. *Oat's* Tryal.

Conſider who they are that Furniſh you with ſuch diſtruſtful Apprehenſions of the Promiſes of your PRINCE; and would frighten you into Dangers and Deſpair: One of them a diſcontented Malecontent, an Exile out of *your* Country; a Crimminal by *Proceſs* in his *Own*; and whoſe * *Allegiance*, if we believe him, is transferr'd to another abroad; and ſhall the ſevereſt Satyrs, that Sedition can afford, or Rage and Malice invent, paſs with us for pure Politicks and Impartial Truth? There are || Others we have touch't upon, that are no leſs *Notorious* and Applauded, whoſe beſt of *Praiſe*, is in not being *Known*, that affect us like *Vipers* with their *ſting*, while at the ſame time, they can *hide* their *Heads*.

* Tho' by the *Dr's.* leave, the Lawyers ſay, *Abjuration* will not *Transfer it*; vid. *Cok.* 7. *Rept.* p. 9. *Dyer*, fol. 300.

|| *Vid.* Letter to the *Diſſenters*, & Tryal of the Teſt.

Never *Credit* thoſe, that endeavour to *Diſcredit* their KING; for ſuch as will take that *Liberty*, forfeit their

Honesty, and by the very *Fact*, are not to be *believ'd*: Pray, what Attempt has he made, to make the *National* Religion the *Roman Catholick*? Which perhaps, were it desin'd, is as little feasible: that will alway preserve it self the *National* Religion which is most *generally* Receiv'd; and untill they can prove to us, That the *Repealing* the *Laws*, will make more Papists in *England* than Protestants; they may make *many words*, but *no Arguments*, Has it not all the appearance in the world, that it is the *Principle* of His *MAJESTY's* Soul, and not any *Designs* of State, th t makes Him desire to have all the Souls of His Subjects at ease too; to succour, and relieve the *Oppressed*; and let the *Prisoner go free:* if not, pray, what then Oblig'd Him to that tender Compassion to the *French-Protestants?* They are as much *Hereticks* to the Church of *Rome*; and cannot pretend to a greater share of Friendship, from the Agreeableness of their Doctrine or Faith: They could not Plead *Priviledges*, *Immunities*, and *Magna Charta*; and tell the KING He was bound by His *Coronation Oath* to Protect them; yet 'tis well known what Encouragement He has given Them: He has made use of His Prerogative for Their Preservation, and even Dispens'd with Law, for the getting of their Livelihood and exercising of their Trades; made use of His *Proclamations* to Command our Charity; and repeated them often to press the Performance. These are *Great Truths*, and no *little* Arguments to silence some Mens seditious Insinuations; and the Celebrated Dr. would have been a better *Subject*, and *Historian* too, had he apply'd the *Faith* of the Prince Palatin he so much Commends, to the *constancy* and *goodness* of his *Own* at home; and not set off his adhering to *their* Laws, only to represent the Breach of Ours *here*: besides, he might have been so Candid to observe, that the Peaceable and Flourishing Condition of those *German* Countries, is chiefly owing to that free Exercise that is permitted of Religion: the *Roman* and *Lutheran* Churches being both *sumptuously* Built in some Places, and as *publickly* frequented; nay, in *one* and the *same* Church *we* have known them successively celebrate the Mass, and the Protestant Service, and the Magistracy took it's

it's *Turn* in *Civil* Adminiſtration, after the ſame manner as the others did in *Eccleſiaſtical*: The *Dr.* would have done well to obſerve, that in theſe Dominions, there was no *Forcing* of *Conſcience*, nor any Penal Laws for it in *Force*; even where the *Roman* Biſhops Preſide as Sovereign *Princes*; there is no ſuch Perſecution, as in the Electorates of *Cologn* and *Mentz*: but the *painful* Gentleman muſt be pardon'd for his *Elaborate* Obſervations to abuſe his Prince, when he has dealt as boldly with the Trinity; and from the moſt Antient of the Manuſcripts, made room for the Doctrin of the * *Arians*: If he can ſerve the Protestant Religion no better *abroad*, than by Betraying the Christian, he had better *Diſpen'd* with his Travels, and ſtay'd at *Home*. His frequent Reflections on the late *chief* Miniſter of his *Majeſties* Juſtice, and now the *chiefeſt* in the *State* too; as they cannot detract from the mighty *Merit* of that *Loyal Peer*, ſo they ſerve only to make up the Meaſure of the *Drs.* Malice: his *Zeal* to the Service of the *Crown* can never be made *Criminal* by the Pen of a *Zealot* that invades it, and he cannot but Libel the KING's moſt *Faithful* Friends, that ſo willingly would *Abjure* his *own Faith* and *Allegiance*.

* *Vid.* his Letter.

All Injury is ſuperſeded by ſuch Calumny, even to the contradicting of the moſt common Aphoriſm, *and nothing of it will ſtick*, tho' laid on in *abundance*: *Conſider*, that ſuch Mens Suggeſtions are Malitious, and muſt not, cannot be Believ'd: *Conſider*, that ſome may make a *cry* for their *Diana*; tho' no one be going to intercept their *Trade*, or take away her *Shrines*: In ſuch caſes, thoſe that have no concerns of Employment in the Church, are the beſt Judges, whither She be really injur'd; for partial people and Perſons concern'd, are apt to Anticipate Dangers, tho' they are not ſo much as in the *Clouds*, or Hanging over their Heads; and thoſe that are but ſtanders by, are the beſt Judges of the Fair play: The Jealouſies of *ſuch* Men is a debaſing of their Function that is *Sacred*; when like Mechanicks in a *Trade*, they are afraid of *Interlopers*, and will give occaſion to ſay, that this *earneſt Contending* ſeems more for their Temporal Poſſeſſions, than *for the Faith that was once delivered to the Saints*.

If our Laws were truly like the *Medes* and *Persians*, that they *Alter'd not*, and which was insisted on to a *Persian* Prince upon the like occasion, for *Darius* his condemning of *Daniel* for the *Worship of his God*; then I confess the least design of *Altering* such *Laws*, would make the very intention of it Criminal. But when our Law it self tells us, That *any Subsequent Parliament, can Null all the Acts of the Preceding*, When it has been done almost *every* Session, and is *absolutely* necessary for the Constitution of a State; it must not be put upon with *Falshoods* and *Paradoxes*. And to say, that if the *Penal Laws* are Repeal'd, Popery will then be Establisht by *Law*, will be *False*, both from Inference and Fact; for sure that is not presently an *Establisht Church* that is just let loose from the *Prison* and the *Jayl*; and there will several Statutes remain in Force, *For* maintaining of her Tyths, Dignities and Revenues, *For* making none *capable*, but such as shall be exactly *Conformable*: *For* preserving the *Present*, a *National One*, unless she be No *Church*, when she has No Power to Punish.

Don't be deceiv'd with the *shaddow*; that all things shall be granted to your hearts ease under the *Next* Successor; this (were it not a foolish sort of argument) would help me to Cap their *Fable* of the Dogs, with *another* to *the same*; but this is certainly *Folding your Arms*, a pensive hoping in the *Shade*, when you can run out and play in the *Sun*; and will ever it's Beams be the less refreshing, because it will rise again the next day; and you are not sure but it may be in a *Clowd*: But then, these Men that draw such a wise *Scheam* of future Politicks, can they foresee the *Breasts* of *Princes*, that they thus Promise for them, and when their *Hearts* are said to be only in the hands of God? Who knows but the Royal Heir, out of a Sense of Filial Duty, and Pious Gratitude to the memory of it's Parent, will protect All those that have Faithfully serv'd him, of any Perswasion whatsoever, *especially* when so *nearly* ally'd to the *very* Bosome of a Prince, whose way of Worship neither is the *same* with the *National* here, and in whose Countries All Religions have been *ever* alike Tolerated. But besides, with submission to their most Judiciary Calculations, I look upon it as a little

little ſort of undecent forecaſt, to be *Always* Erecting ſuch Scheams for the *Next* Heir, both in Diſcourſe, and Writing, as ſeem almoſt to calculate the Nativity of the *Preſent*, and as if they would comfort themſelves, that his Reign wont be long; Arguments are made, Concluſions are drawn, and even Projects fram'd, with the Premiſſes *Still*, If the King die. * *Stanley* loſt his Head by a leſs ſevere conſtruction of Treaſon *Ex hypotheſi*; And ſuch inſinuaitons ſeem to favour of the *Prayers* made by ſome Zealots it the 1*ſt*. of Queen *Mary*, that her Days might be *Shortned*, or her Heart *Turn'd*; but for all the *Condition* annext, it was made Abſolutely *Treaſonable*. I would not have ſome men play the *Gadbury* too much, and limit the Life of a Monarch, by the calculating of his Age; the Prayers of *Good* men may *prolong* it, and thoſe of the *Bad* will never cut it *ſhort*.

* *Regno H.* 7. * *Vid.* alſo *Collins* Caſe in *Rolls* Report, *Fac.* 1. of words ſpoken on ſuppoſitions. vid. 1 *Mar.*

Future Contingencies cannot be *foreſeen*, but by that *Providence* alone that had its being from *All Ages*, that has a *Contnu'd* view of *Time*, and all *Eternity* by Intuition, and in whoſe *Hands* alone are theſe Princes *Hearts*. Human Judgment was always fallible, and very apt to make falſe conjectures; *ſome* People could not think His Majeſty would prove a Prince ſo *Gracious*, *Merciful*, and *Indulgent*, & for that were uneaſy; and who would have thought that ſome men that inſiſted ſo much on *Paſſive Obedience* to the *Succeſſor*, ſhou'd be now *Impatient*, and almoſt *Diſobedient* under his Reign? To *Diſtinguiſh* themſelves out of their *Loyalty*, may ſhew their *Logick* or their *Law*, but never will their *Love* and *Allegiance*; I am aſham'd to ſee men labour to make * *Law* and *Loyalty* the ſame, as if People when they have got a *Capricious Interpretation* in their *Head*, have Authority to ſpoil the *Common acceptation* of a *Word*. We all know forſooth, as well as the Criticks, that *Loy* ſignifies *Law*; but was ever *Loyalty* taken yet, in common diſcourſe, for *Lawfulneſs* too? we are bound to do all that's *Lawful* and *Right* to one another, by *Law*; and are we therefore one anothers *Loyal* and *Leige* Subjects? but to take it in their *Perverted Senſe*, or that of *Coke Littleton*; to Defend this Kings Power of Diſpenſing, is the moſt *Loyal Act* you can do, ſince by thoſe very * Lawyers, the *Kings Prerogative is maintain'd*

* *Vid.* Tryal of the New Teſt, page 2.

*2d. Inſt. p. 496.

tain'd to be the Beſt and Chiefeſt Part of the Law. But I am ſorry to ſee *Church-men* now aſſume this very Notion for a reſerve to their Love and Allegiance, when to my knowledg, this very quibling on the *Word*, was us'd, not long ſince, by thoſe they call'd *Wiggs* and *Phanaticks*, and was by the Prerogative-Lawyers of thoſe times laught at, and refuted; 'tis the Fate always, when men begin to grow Factious, to contradict themſelves; as if what was *Loyalty* under *one Prince*, was not ſo under *another*, and one **King** *cannot diſpenſe* with what the *other* **Can.**

*Liegeance is the Proper *Loyalty*, and that implys an obligation of obedience, from the Subject to the Soveraign by *Birth*, by *Nature*, who is call'd their *Natural* Lord, without reſpect to *Municipal* Laws, *Vid.* to this purpoſe 2 *Inſt.* 128, 7 Report page 4. and many Acts of Parliament.

Faction & *Malicious* Accuſation can never carry the cauſe againſt *Loyalty* and the **King**, conſider in the Common Caſe of *Felons*, and *Malefactors*, the Credit of their *Accuſers* is in nothing *more* Invalidated then by proving any manner of **Malice** in their Proſecutors; and pray then let the **King**, when he's *arraign'd* (for the ſake of his Prerogative) have but as much Priviledge as a Priſoner at the Bar, when his *Accuſer* too appears the moſt **Malicious**, and what is *more*, by Proceſs upon Record, the greateſt **Malefactor**: the Law in many Caſes *Implys* a **Malice**, but here it is moſt plain beyond *Implication*, if you *Conſider* the Libells the learned Doctor has lay'd at your doors are penn'd by a Perſon that wanted *more* preferment here, and who for his miſdeameanors was turn'd out of the *little* he had: By *one* that left *England* (and I believe him) *with his Majeſties Approbation*; and by his commands was forbid to return: By *one* that ly s * charg'd with no leſs than High Treaſon, and who confeſſes in the Second Addreſs that he ſent to the Secretary; that ſuch proceedings ſhall *provoke* him.

* *Vid.* Firſt Letter to Ld. Midd.

* *Vid.* His Proceſs and Citation,

Whatever is the veracity of the moſt *moderate* Man, he muſt not be believ'd when he rages moſt *Immoderately*; no more then a Bear is to be truſted when you have baited him, only becauſe before he was quiet and tame: and *mens* Paſſions too, in ſpite of our boaſted *Reaſoning*, even by being too much *exalted*, can *debaſe* themſelves ſo far as to become *brutal*, and then the *deliberate* miſchiefs they do, are the more dangerous, from the ſagacity of that ſeduc'd reaſon, that then truly, *ſells it ſelf to do wickedly*; and what more *Ingenious* Revenge, could an enrag'd, and * *provok't*

* *Vid.* Second Letter.

vaſſal

vassal take against his *Liege* Lord, then such a pretty expedient, for the renouncing his *Allegiance*: And that he means by it more than a *Temporary Revolt to a *forraign* Jurisdiction, will appear from some passages in his *own* Papers, when he suggests to our *Peaceful* Subjects here, the Principle of Mr. *Hobbs* his *State of War*, and the *Scurvy Paragraph of self Preservation*; when he insinuates also that his Faith to his Prince may be Temporary too at *home*, and to last no longer than the King will Countenance or Protect.

* *Vid.* Third

* *Vid.* Six Papers, pag. 22.

What more Malicious Construction can be made from the *plain* meaning of *Express* words? The King *Declares*, no one shall suffer for meer *Religion*. And what says the Dr? Why, *then when Religion* and Policy are enterwoven, they can claim no benefit by the *Declaration*. Would the Docter oblige the King from his *Liberty* of Conscience to *Tolerate* Robbers and Murderers? for it is the Policy, and *Publick safety* of the State that punishes *them still*: or is it possible that people, when they suffer for any *other* offence that by Law is truly *Criminal*; can be said to suffer for meer *Religion*, when by Law too that is made no *Crime* at all? Or would the Docter have had the KING's *mercy* to have Anticipated the *Justice* of *future* times, and extended to the *Crimes*, which *hereafter* on the Pretence of *Religion* they may *possibly* Commit? and yet this with prejudic'd persons must pass for Reason that has nothing in it of Common Consequence; and that the Doctor may not want contradiction too (for *malice* will make wise men commit absurdities) tho I am sorry to see so Celebrated a Reasoner run himself into such misfortune, only for the *defaming* of his *own* KING: at the same time he would refute for it the *French-man* for too much *Praising* of his.

* *Vid.* Ibid. page, 23.

In one *Page of his Reflections, he makes our Queen *Mary* to *get the better of the* Monarch of *France*, to be more *fiery* in her persecution; and to have *Animated the bloodiest of her Bishops*, Bonner, he makes her as much a Monster as his *own* malice, or that of the *other* Sex can make a Woman well to *be*, or be well *imagin'd*: and whats the meaning of all this? Why! Here 'tis very fit for his purpose so to do, and the Doctors *Satyr*, must come in *here* only in opposition to the

* *Vid.* Continuation of Reflection on *Mr.* Varil. p. 5.

* Ibid. pag. 150.

Monſieur's *Panegyrick*; but then in another * Page, this *ſame* Q. *Mary* was a *Woman ſo far from delighting in ſcenes of blood, that her Clemency was much magnify'd, and the mildneſs of* that Princeſſes Reign, *gave* no *Cauſe to complain of the Rigor of her Proceedings*, and what's the matter now? Why, the KING, the Council, the then Chief Juſtice are all to be Libell'd; and the *Clemency* to *Wiat*'s Crew, ſet againſt the Doctors *Cruelty* in the Weſt; and I warrant you, we ſhould have heard nothing of Queen *Mary*'s being *mild*, had it not been to make our moſt *Merciful* Monarch *Cruel:* there is not one ſuch a touch of kindneſs to that Queen *Mary*, in all his Book of Reformation. But after all this his forc't Compliment to her *Pious Memory* and mildneſs, his excepting it as to *matters* of *Religion*, will not much mend his *matters* here, for let the Motives to *Cruelty* be what they will, it can never make the Character of the Perſon *mild*, much *leſs* in *matters* of meer *Religion*; for *there* it *more* aggravates, and for that the Doctor might have ſpar'd a little *Panegyrick* upon His Majeſty, that in this point is ſo full of *mercy*; and if Religion *only* did ſo *Animate* Queen *Mary* to Blood, She muſt in his very inſtance have ſhed abundance, ſince that *moſt dangerous Rebellion* (as he calls it) was *moſt* upon *that* ſcore, tho' the Spaniſh Match was ſo *much* pretended, tho' I think there was as much *danger* too in that which *this* KING *went through*, and the ſeverity no *more* than the neceſſity of the State ſo generally diſtemper'd, did inevitably require.

* Reflection, P. 54. 55.

In the next place, in another page of this applauded piece, *To condemn a perſon in Abſence upon Attainder*, is there Juſtify'd in oppoſition to *Varilla*'s, to be *alway practis'd by our Law, when the Abſence was wilful:* but in other of his works, and even *there* in the next page the *Caſes* of *Monmouth*, and *Armeſtrong*, are made ſo many Murders, and the higheſt invaſions of Equity and Juſtice: Was the thing *alway* practis'd by Law, and ſhall it be, when the Doctor pleaſes unlawful? But by his leave, the two Caſes that he confounds ſo Learnedly, were never the ſame: The firſt was an attainder in Parliament, and never queſtion'd for *illegal:* the latter was attainted too, but upon *Outlary*; and tho' the Dr. would inſinuate the Proceſs upon his ſeiſure to be ſo *unjuſt*, only to have another touch

at

at the *Judge*, 'tis as certain that he ſuffer'd *Juſtly*, for to be ſure the Clemency for *Revoking* the *Judgment*, was by the Law only intended to a *Voluntary ſurrender*; otherwiſe the Proſecution of the Law muſt be in a ſort of *Abeyance*, and at a ſtand; and the KING's Officers hearing of his abode, could not Seiſe an *Outlaw'd* Malefactor, till he has abſconded *Out* his Year and a Day: * But it would be well if the *Dr.* would make better uſe of his Caſe, and take warning by it, to forbear his Libells, leſt his *High and Mighty States of Holland and Weſt-Friezland* ſhould be rob'd of ſuch a Jewell. If this Caſe does not concern him, I know he remembers all the Reformation, and how they dealt with a *Dr.* in Q. *Eliz.* time; that among his *Mildneſſes too of that Princeſſes* Reign STORY was taken even out of *Flanders*; and if we believe his Famous *Fox*, cut up *alive* in *England*: His Caſe was ſo Compleatly *Parallel*, that I compaſſionately wiſh this *Dr.* may never *draw* the *lines* ſo far, as to perfect it in his Fate. His Caſe was alſo put to the Conſultation of all the Lawyers; he was Try'd for *High Treaſon*; he *Pleaded* hard for himſelf, that he was a *ſworn Subject to the King of* Spain, *and none to the Queen of* England; *that the Judges had no Power to meddle with him*; however, his Plea was Overul'd with this Reſolution, *That no man can renounce the Country wherein he was Born, nor abjure his Prince at his own Pleaſure*: If this be * *Muhometan Government*, *Murther*, and *Court of Inquiſition*, Proteſtants will have little cauſe to thank him for his complements too on that *mild* Reign, and the Mercy's of Queen *Eliz.* in carrying on the Reformation.

But beſides; theſe expedients of bringing over Perſons obnoxious to the Goverment from Forreign parts; which we ſee ſo confirm'd by Preſident, even where the Proteſtant Party Prevail'd: the Protection of the *States* he ſo ſtands upon, may fail him too; and the ſuccour of that Country which he ſo relyes on *by leaning on too much, may like the Reed of another* Egypt, *run into his Side*: as little as he may value Mr. *D' Albevills* motions to remove him, his Maſters there are too cunning to Procure a Breach with a Crown, for the protection of a Subject that is indeed none of theirs. Thoſe that never yet dealt ſo *fairly* with *Princes*, may be

* Theſe Caſes prove, that the prejudice of the Hiſtorian has tranſported him to give falſe Colours to his Characters; even to contradiction, only for the defaming of his *KING*. Acts and Mon. page 2152, *Lond. Edit.* 1583.

Vid. Fox. Ibid.

* 6 Papers page 21.

* *Vid.* Reflection *Varill*, page 55.

ſuſpected for ſuch a ſuperfluous Faith, to one that puts himſelf upon them for a *Vaſſal*; but eſpecially the danger to the Dr. may be more than he Imagines, when the Juſtice and Law of *Nations* will oblige them to a ſurrendring of him up; or at leaſt a ſending him away, unleſs he fancies for that reaſon, the *Dutch* will refuſe it. Men of a greater Figure have been ſerv'd ſo: the Earl of *Suffolk* attainted in *Hen.* 7. time, was after a long Debate deliver'd up by the King of *Spain*; and ſo was the * Conſtable of *France*, by the Duke of *Burgundy*, to *Lewis* the 11th. and what this Celebrated Hiſtorian muſt remember more, even in the times of *Reformation:* Queen *Eliz.* demanded *Morgan* from *France*, and told the *Scots* when *they* did *Both well*, that ſhe would either yield him up to *Them*, or ſend him away from *Her*; and ſure He will not now Blaſt and Blemiſh *that* Reign too, as well as all the reſt that have been ſince.

* *Phil. de* Commines. l. 4. *Cap.* 12.

Vid. *Camb.* 1593.

This Hiſtorian muſt have met with too in his reading; that were the delivering up ſuch Fugitives has been refus'd it has only been becauſe they would put them to as fair a Tryal *There*; and ſo it was told the *ſame* Queen by the King of *Scots*, when ſhe writ for *Fernihurſt*. Inferiour Criminals for *defrauding* the *Revenue*, have been return'd us here, and *High-Treaſon* I hope is of a *higher* Nature: the Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis Mutually concerns all Crown'd Heads not to *Protect* in the Fugitives of a *Foreign* State, no more than they can *Encourage* the committing it in their *own* at *home*: and the *Dutch* cannot deny it us, unleſs it be only becauſe they have nothing of a Crown. It would be an hardſhip to a Government, not to be endur'd; that an individual Subject ſhould ſeize for Contract and Debt in another Dominion, or by Repriſals at Sea right himſelf; and yet Fugitives to find refuge for betraying even the *Commonweal*; this would ſubject the *States* General to ſuch an *Incapacity* of righting themſelves, which every Particular *Skipper* is capable of, that ſells but an *Herring*. And at laſt, *all* doubt is out of doors, where ſuch *Protection* is provided againſt by the *Articles* of *Peace*.

Ibid. 1585.

* So were the Regicides to be return'd us by the *Fifth* Article of the Crown of *Denmark*. 1660. and even the *Dutch* did the ſame.

All Impartial People, I hope, will Pardon me for dealing

ing a *Little* freely with the Dr. that has been certainly *more* bold with His MAJESTY, and taken the liberty to Libel no *leſs* than the *whole Line:* and for the Pertinency of ſuch Animadverſion, I appeal to all his Papers, put out no purpoſe to Oppoſe any Happy Union, and all good agreement between *King* and *People*; and for the reflections I've return'd, I can ſafely ſay, I have but *Mildly* toucht upon, and that *Promiſcuouſly*, the moſt Provoking Sedition; from one that with the ſevereſt Satyr has pointed at his KING.

Such rude Recriminations on the Crown, he knew would Interrupt the *Peace* that is expected from an *Approaching* Parliament; and ſo to clear it from ſuch Scandals, and refute ſuch Seditious Argument, muſt fall under our *Duty* as well as *Deſign*.

But whatever are his hopes from it's *Approach*, and the differences he expects in its Debates, (who it ſeems is now ſo much a Naturaliz'd *Dutchman*, as to promiſe himſelf good Fiſhing from troubled Waters and the Mudd). I am Morally perſwaded they will hardly eſpouſe his Quarrel, much leſs return him another *Thanks of the Houſe:* and what evenare the fond expectancies of ſome vain People, will be ſo far from *Invading* the Rights of the Crown, as to *Confirm* this ſo *queſtion'd* Prerogative of their King; againſt which, the follies of ſome inconſiderate Perſons do ſo promiſe an Appeal, and will more likely draw up a Reſolve to ſuppreſs ſuch Libels, than any Remonſtrance *for Grievances to be Redreſt*.

The late Ld. *Shaftsbury* was once againſt All *Teſts*, eſpecially for *Religion*; & made a Notable Speech in the Houſe of Lords againſt that of the * *Oxford Act* being more *Univerſally* impos'd: but ſome Years after, when he had a mind to put tricks upon the Papiſts: then, *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Praying to Saints*, *Sacrifice of the Maſs*, muſt be all confuted, and confounded with a Teſt, when they might as well have *Enacted* the Trinity to be *Nonſenſe*; *as poſitively*, to define, what *poſſibly* may be None, *Superſtition* and *Idolatry:* The Notions of Divinity, I think, were never before without a General Council, ſo Dogmatically declar'd with an *Order'd* and *Reſolv'd*, and moſt part of the *Chriſtian* World *Tranſubſtantiated* into Pagan with an *Act* of Parliament. If

* *April* 65.

If the belief of Catholicks is so Captivated, as to consent to the *Corporeal*, and Elemental change into the Substance of a *God*; for Godsake! Would they not be worse then Idolators, if they did not Adore? And must they now be *Voted* such, only because they do not think as others do? I must confess, I alway thought it would have been a wiser definition of this Establisht Church; to have made *Her* Sacrament *more* Figurative, or the *Sacrifice* of the Mass *less* Idolatrous; for Really Present, and the body and blood, to be verily, and indeed Taken; are Terms that must put us to our Metaphysicks; and which I have not yet seen so well Explicated, as not to touch upon an *Elemental* transmutation: *Luther* lik't it so little that rather than like *Mahomet's* Tomb, to hang between two *Elements*, the *Heaven*, and the *Earth*; he made up his *more* absurd composition of both.

And then for that other *Idolatry* of *Images*, and *Invocation*; from their *plain* words, & in Charity *to them*, I am apt to think, has *really* no other Existence, than in the Letter of our Laws, and the resolution of our Act of Parliament; for my self have put it as a Question to several Papists *abroad*, as well as to some of our *own at home*, even to the *most ignorant* Votary's: and if any can be *blind* Adorers, the poorest Plebeians, *to what* they Exalted, and *in what* they Terminated their *extreams* of Worship, when addrest to an *Image* or a *Saint*? Why! the Answer was *still* to this Purpose, To the True GOD alone, looking upon those Material Objects, but as so many Representations to move, and elevate their Devotions to their Saviour, and excite them to have recourse to *Him* by *such* Intercessors: so that if we believe their *own* words, and men may be allow'd to know their *own* mind, *their* Church cannot be guilty of the only *Idolatry* that can with any *Charity* be charg'd upon it; A Consequential, and even *that* is but a forc't *unkind*, *unintelligible* extension of it; a Term that has as much of *malice* in it, as of *Metaphysicks*; and certainly can no more make *their* Doctrine Idolatrous, than *that* would the *Church of England*, if her *nine* and *thirty Articles* by a mad-man or a fool, should be taken for the Alcoran: *Ignorance* may be the *Mother* of *Superstition*, or even a *Criminal* Devotion in the *Members* of a Communion; when it would be madness to make

make the *whole body* of Christians suffer for it too, as so many Turks and Mahometans.

I'le tell you now the substance of some of the Arguments of that *Noble Peer*, against the *first* Test; * and you shall see, whether they will not serve against all the *rest*.

* An. 1665. *Oxf.* Act.

Ay, says he, *It will be a great step to the overthrowing of the Act of Oblivion, and reviving distinctions among Parties.*

That all such former *Oaths were steps to the* same *end, that we should rather think of* repealing, *than enjoyning them to be taken by all the Officers of the Nation, and Members of both Houses.*

That Oaths ought to be simple and plain, whereas that about Religion was intricate and dark, and only a snare to the Consciences of well-meaning men.

That such Oaths were against the Property *of the Subject.*

That it is directly against the Kings Crown *and Dignity, that Subjects should be sworn to matters of the Church.*

That it was the highest invasion of the Supremacy, *and the greatest attempt that has been made against it, since the* Reformation.

These His Arguments cannot but take with *Dissenters*, since it was a *Speech* he made in their *own* favor, and defence, and sure *Conformists* cannot condemn the reasonings of such a *Noble Peer*, who introduc'd *both* the Tests against the *Roman Catholicks*: And so Efficacious was his *Oratory* then, that the Lords laid aside all further considerations of any *Universal* Imposition of such unreasonable *Oaths*; and so *concern'd* were they for offering the *Imposing* it, that they drew up * Protestations against it, as the *Invasion* of *their Peerage*, and *the Freedom of Parliaments*. And sure, if any of these Protesting Peers are yet *Living*, (as I am sure *some* are,) their *Honor*, their *Interest*, their *Birth-Right*, their *Peerage*, the very Judgment of their Souls, their Hands & Hearts, are all pawn'd, for the *repealing* of such Laws, when against the *Passing* them they enter'd such a notable Protest: a *Repeal* which *Shaftsbury* himself would be asham'd were he now alive to oppose: This is no flourish, but Argument upon the Case, that is kept upon

*So also in 73.

upon Record, and that in the highest Court; and 'tis but consulting the *Journal* of the *House of Lords*, and by that let the reasons of such Laws to *stand*, or *fall*, that Honourable Assembly, when ever it Sits, will find sufficient Reasonings, and as much Matter of Fact, for the removing *all* such Tests, preserv'd for them within their *own* Walls; and their *own* Books shew them the *best* of *Presidents*, and a *President*, where the case has been *contested*, is worth an *hundred* when there has been no *contest*.

* *Vid.* Letter of *Pens. F.* to Mr. *St.*

And being here come home to that, which touches the only tender Part of the Government, The two * Tests of *Car.* 2. against the Catholiques: I cannot but take notice of the New Paper of the Dutch Pensioner; that is so *diligently* spread for the diffusion of an *industrious* mischief, and creating the most *dangerous* Difference, that can arise from the *debates* of a Divided House; I cannot do better than close our last Animadversions on their *latest* effort, that is so freshly set afoot for our disturbance; The Reasons that it brings up in the Rear, are less to be regarded than the Royal Characters, that it carries in the Front; and we could *forgive* mijn Heer F. his Arguments (if we did not refute them) when we cannot so soon *Pardon* the Presumption for prefixing to a Pamphlet, *Surreptitious*, and *unauthoriz'd*, the Rever'd name of the Princess of O. the *sweetness* of whose temper, and *gentle* disposition, as it cannot be suppos'd to delight in *severity*, and Persecution; so certainly is as little pleas'd to promote any thing to the disturbance of a *State*, to which She *still* seems so neerly related; as Her obliging nature does *sufficiently* secure us, she'l *favour* an Indulgence; so does that *dutiful affection* as morally perswade, she cannot *Patronize* the opposers of her Parent. But the Names of such Princes to their *pretended* piece, they were well assur'd would make it *Popular*; the *weakest* side is the *wisest* too, when it makes the *strongest* party: It was their *last* expedient that made them trespass upon good manners, and presume to make *Theirs*, Her Highnesses opinion.

Vid. Letter of *Pens.*

It is offer'd it seems, in the first place, that the *Papists throughout all our three Kingdoms, should be suffer'd to* continue *in their Religion*: I confess the kindness is somewhat extraordinary, consi-

conſidering the *Preſent* ſeaſon; when the greateſt Perſecution in the *Paſt*, could not prevail with them to renounce it: but if it ſhall be as the Paper promiſes, *with as much Liberty, as is allow'd by the States in thoſe Provinces*; Then I humbly conceive, that from their own Conceſſions, both theſe *Two* Teſts muſt be taken away; for by them both, both Peers and Commons of that perſwaſion are Incapacitated for *Military Employment*; which the *Letter* it ſelf, ſays by the Laws of that Country even *there* they cannot; do not exclude them from: and ſure then it will ly *harder* upon them *here*, to be hinder'd from ſerving their KING in his *Camp*, when a natural Liegance *requires* it, *expreſs Statutes *command* it, and a Prince of their *own* Religion *receives* it: Shall the *Dutch* truſt them for their defence, that are of a *different* faith? And cannot the KING of *England* confide in them, becauſe they *agree* in the *ſame?* And yet by *both* theſe Teſts they ſo contend for, the Catholicks are *excluded* from ſerving His Majeſty, tho' they take up Arms only for his preſervation: So that this Letter-*maker*, muſt certainly fall into the *neceſſity* of this Dilemma; that the Papiſts muſt *not* be permitted here the Liberty *they are allow'd in* Holland, or theſe Teſts muſt be taken away for their more *free* Admiſſion into *Military affairs*; and without any *medium*, he muſt renounce his own Poſition, or admit ours.

*Vid. Coke. 7. Rept. Page 4. *11 H. 7.

The *Author* of this Paper that muſt paſs for the Penſioner, is certainly the worſt in the world to *write* for the Teſts; when he gives it under his hand, that he has never *read* them; and for that reaſon may be a *Forreigner* to our *Laws*, as well as *Land*; when he ſays, that thereby Roman Catholicks receive *no* other Prejudice, than their being *excluded* from *Parliaments*, or *publick Employments*; when by the latter of thoſe, Recuſants Convict are *baniſh't* the *Court*, ſo much as *ſeeing*, or *coming* into the *preſence* of their King or Queen; or *places* where they *reſide*, upon pains of incurring all the fearful Penalties, and forfeitures, that follow the †violation of that Act: I hope the bare ‖ ſeeing of their Royal Soveraigns, can't be call'd a *Sitting* in *Parliament*, an *Office*, or *publick Employment*, and the coming into their *Preſence*, or *Place* of *abode*, be preſently interpreted a promotion

† 30 *Car* 2d.

‖ Even the Ld. *Digby* a *Proſelited* Papiſt, that contended for paſſing the 1ſt. *Teſt*, us'd this as an Argument, becauſe *it did Not baniſh them the Court*, which the 2d. does moſt effectually.

tion to a *Place* too of high Preferment, since 'tis seldom deny'd the pooreſt *Plebeian*, that never expects (perhaps) the turning of the ſpit in the Kings Kitchin. I confeſs this clauſe is ſo far *for* keeping them out of *Publick Employment*, that it almoſt excludes them *humane ſociety*: Herds them among *Beaſts*, debaſes them *below* Brutes too; for if we believe our old *Engliſh* Proverbs, even A Cat *may* look *upon a* King.

But I muſt tell theſe Politicians too, who ſo finely *extenuate* the ſeverities of theſe Teſts into a meer *Metaphyſical* Entity, A *Negative* ſort of Puniſhment, that only *denyes Papiſts* to be preferr'd; that to any impartial perſon, theſe diſabling Laws, will appear a *poſitive* Perſecution; and that *only*, for the ſake of *Pure* Religion: The Abjurations that they force upon the people in *France*, are only more *Univerſal*; and with this *diſparity*, they that *there* will not renounce their Religion, muſt reſolve to ſuffer as Patiently as they can, the *inſolency*, *ſpoil*, *rapine*, and *outrages* of all the Souldiers they ſend them, which reduces ſeveral Families to miſery and want; and for refuſing the *ſame* renuntiation *here*, many perſons that have had their *ſole* dependance upon ſome *office*, or *place*, have meerly for that been diſpoſſeſt and remov'd to their utter Ruin and deſtruction; all the difference lying in this, between being *devour'd* by *dragons*, or *beggar'd* by being turn'd out & *diſcarded*: or putting the caſe *more* favourably, we'll look upon theſe Oaths *only* as they reſpect (in the ſenſe of this Letter) the keeping Papiſts *out* of *Employments*: what comfort can this be to the poor *Catholiques*, or what mitigation of a *Proteſtant Perſecution*; when they are deny'd the common Advantages that may make them *rich*? It muſt be certainly the ſame misfortune, as to be turn'd out of their poſſeſſions, that they may be *ſure* to become *poor*.

Vid. Letter of *Penſ. F.*

Vid. Letter of *F.*

I cannot ſee with what Conſcience this late Celebrated *Letter* can aſſert, that, *neither from theſe* Teſts, *nor the* Other Laws, *Roman Catholicks are made to ſuffer upon account of their* Conſciences. This is too *groſs* to be put upon the Dutch themſelves; for certainly were theſe Penal Laws ſo favourable as *only* to incapacitate them for *Office* and *Truſt*; yet even that is a ſeverity, which they are neceſſitated to ſuffer, and that for Conſcience *ſake*: it is but a poor extenuation of an uncharitable

table temper, when he tells us that for ſome *Political* ends, theſe Laws for Religion muſt remain *unrepeal'd*; as if the *Sacraments* themſelves, were only made to be ſubſervient to ſome *Civil* Inſtitutions, and the God of Heaven, but an inſtrument to work out the inventions of *man*: if meerly for *ſecular* ends, ſo *ſacred* a Being, as the Deity it ſelf muſt be ſo ſolemnly *invok'd*, (which the beſt Advocates for the cauſe do ſeem to confeſs) I am affraid ſuch an Invocation may be worſe than that to Saints, and be at leaſt very *profane*, if not Idolatrous; neither can it be anſwer'd us, that then all *Declarations*, all *Oaths* muſt be laid aſide; for the Conſequence fails them too; for the common Reaſon of impoſing them is *only*, or *only* ſhould be, for the detecting of *Juſtice* and *Equity*, the diſcovering of *Truth* from *Falſehood*, whereas theſe Proteſtations call'd Teſts, are by their *own* Confeſſion kept a foot, *only* to be *Injurious* to their fellow-Subjects that are *Equitably* born to the Common Priviledges of their Country, and are ſo far from a *diſcovery* of what is *true* or *falſe*, that they are made about matters ſo profoundly *divine* and myſterious, that it is morally impoſſible for *human* underſtanding to *diſcover* or find it out, unleſs the *ſwearing* to an Article of Faith be found a ſufficient *proof* of the *ſoundneſs* of the Doctrine, and the *books* of Scripture, *Antient* Fathers, *modern* Critichs, can be all *Confuted*, or be better *Expounded* by the *Votes* of an houſe of Commons.

This States-man makes it ſo *Incomprehenſible* for *any that* profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, to go to *diſturb* the *quiet* of a *ſtate*, and *over-turn Conſtitutions*, *only that they may be admitted to employments*: And pray, muſt not others then think it as Unchriſtian, to have the profeſſors of the *ſame* faith, and their fellow-Subjects excluded from ſuch *employs*, which as their Religion cannot really *debar* them from, ſo their very Native Birth-right *demands* it: it is *falſe* in *fact*, tho they take it for *granted*, that it is the Roman-Catholicks *alone* that do ſo *diſturb*, and *diſquiet* the *State* of the Kingdom; it is *only* theſe Laws that create all this *diſturbance* to *them*, and the ſtate, theſe *eſtabliſhe-men* would have been loath under the *Oppreſſion* of *Oliver*, to have merited the Name of *diſturbers* of the Nation; and 'tis ſhewn before, that ſuffering from a power, *Legal* or *Uſurpt*, is ſtill the *ſame* where the Laws are oppreſſive *Vid.* Letter.

preſſive; and if the *Overturning* of old *Conſtitutions* be a thing of that conſideration, (tho hardly a Parliament paſſes in which there are not new ones made) if that I ſay be ſuch a conſiderable argument, as to make it abſolutely neceſſary for our *Engliſh Catholiques* to acquieſce, to continue Our Laws, more incapacitated them ſome *Proteſtant Aliens*: how deſtructive muſt this be to the Proteſtant Intereſt ſhould the *Romaniſts* take an opportunity to return upon us an old Law of the *Romans*, that of *Talionis*; and exclude all the *Reform'd* from Truſt, with a Teſt of *Retaliation*? why we *muſt* ſubmit, we *muſt* not endeavour for our Reſtitution, we *muſt* not *diſturb* the *ſtate*, *overturn* eſtabliſhment, or repeal Laws. And *muſt* not we look very ſilly too, when by our own Arguments we have ſilenc'd our ſelves? What a formidable blow will this give to the *Reformation* in *England*, which was carried on (as ſome ſay) by the *overturning* of all that was *Antient*, and *Eſtabliſht*, *Sacred* and *Civil*, *both in Church and State*; and afford them a Scurvy Argument, That they may *overturn* with a *better* warrant than they were *turn'd* out; that their alterations will be *only* a reſtoring of an old *eſtabliſhment*, whereas we *overturn'd* that, to ſet up new *Conſtitutions*? In ſhort, if they bring no *better Reaſons* for our Religion, than its being ſo *much* Eſtabliſht, it will *certainly* reſolve it ſelf into the *Power* and *Pleaſure* of the Prince, and *really* be, what they ſo *ſcornfully* reject, truly *Precarious; for ſurely they muſt ſee, that *aſſoon* as they had a Proteſtant King, they *preſently* had their *Proteſtant Religion*: And that in ſpite of far more *Antient Conſtitutions*, and *Eſtabliſhments* to the contrary.

*Vid. Oxford Reaſons.

I'le grant him, that every *conſtituted* body, or *Aſſembly* whatſoever, *will be willing to make* Laws *for its own ſafety and* Preſervation: But whatever be the *Policy* of the State, it muſt be ſtill agreeable to the Rules of Reaſon and *Equity*; otherwiſe it proves no more than that *all things are* Lawful *that are Expedient*; and that a *Common-wealth*, (to uſe his *own* terms, as well as their *own* Conſtitution) tho the reſult of an abſolute rebellion, revolt, and defection from their Prince, may make what *Laws* they pleaſe, to prevent any *Caſual* return to there *natural* Allegiance; or that an *Aſſembl'd* or tumultuous People, may pull in pieces even a Penſioner, to *provide againſt attempts that may diſturb their peace*: and granting too that in *Political* bodies, like to thoſe that are truly

natural

natural, there will be alway somwhat of *innate* tenderness to their own Preservation; that *genuin* Principle, *only* respects all opposing of a *forreign force*, and no way determines it to *domestick oppression*, no more than if the lazy man that is said alway to see the *Lyon in the way*, should *cut* off one of his *legs*, that he might the better run away with the *rest* of his *carkass*: I am sorry I can *say*, that this *dismembring* of our selves for the difference of Communion at *home*, does no less expose us to Invasions from *abroad*; but I am sure the *saying* is as certainly *True*, prov'd by *Experience* & *Fact*; & unavoidable from these *Statutes*, and the *Laws*; for should the best *Seaman*, the best *Souldier*, by his birth, or Conversion, be a Papist Convict; he is *totally* incapacitated, *utterly* impossible to do the least service to the Kingdom or the Crown: and why should these *Dutch* people put that upon *us*, the inconvenience of which they see in *themselves*; and take all the care to avoid: unless they would have the more of the Kings Subjects unqualify'd to fight for him, only that they might the sooner invade him. Before the making of our first Test; * when Papists Participated of Employments, had their Places in *Parliament*; I cannot remember that they did *Impeach* our Peace; I am sure some of them did us signal service in the *Dutch* Wars, his *foes* felt too much of the force of the Admiral, and so may well fear the Preferment of his *friends*. *Vid.* Letter. * 1673.

What the *Reform'd Religion* suffers from the *Roman-Catholicks* in *France*, is no reason at all against the repealing of these Laws in *England*, unless they can prove the *disposition* of the Princes, and the *Politicks* of the Two States, to be *entirely* the same; which as precariously, as it is beg'd for an unquestionable *Truth*, if but duly consider'd, is as positively *false*: for the Principle of *our* King will not permit him to *Persecute*, & by the Constitution of our state against Protestants in *general*, it cannot be done: for sure such a mighty Majority must secure them from being *suppress*, tho perhaps it *cannot* from *oppressing* all others; and they may as well tell us, that the *Hugonots* in *France*, are able to *Frighten* the Papists, and subdue them; since the *Reform'd* there, have been always much more *formidable*, both by number and force, than ever the Papists can be suppos'd *here*; and yet even *there*, *Vid.* Letter.

there, notwithstanding these insinuations, till these late revolutions in the Policy of that State, the Protestants were admitted to *Offices* and *Trust*, in *Court*, and in *Camp*, by *Sea*, and by *Land*; the truth of which is so plain, that to name the Persons, would be needless and impertinent.

It is more *Dogmatically* laid down, than *Judiciously* asserted, when he says, that it is *Impossible for Roman-Catholiques* and *Protestants to live Peaceably together, when both are put into places of Trust*: as if Religion, and *Divine Illumination*, must only divest us of Humanity, *enlighten* us only so far, as to *see* the better how to fall out among our selves. *First*, 'tis plain, that it is very Unchristian that it *should* be so. *Secondly*, The *contrary* appears by practise in several of the neighbouring States to *Holland*, and in some Towns that even they *still* call their *own*; where both *Civil* and *Military* matters, are manag'd by both; as before we have prov'd, and that without these suggested consequences of *Suspicions and Animosities*. *Thirdly*, We our selves perceive none of this *bad* Correspondence, from these *mixt preferments* that His Majesty bestows; but on the contrary a *better* understanding; & it would be hard indeed, if the Examination of his Faith, must only qualify the man as to his *merit* and *desert*; shall it be therefore hard for Papists in *Holland* to be shut out of *Military Employment*, *because in the first formation of their State, they joyned in the defence of their publick Liberty*; (that is, as I conceive in *English*) in maintaining that revolt they had made from their *Lawful* Prince? And shall it not be as *Injurious* a piece of Hardship, or the greatest *injustice* to exclude them *here* from the *same* Employments, when they joyn'd with all their Loyal Fellow-Subjects in the *defence* of their *Soveraign*, and in some cases were more eminently, and solely concern'd in his preservation? And whereas he insinuates their being *mixt* so together in *Offices* of *Trust*, must so necessarily cause this contention and *Animosity*? nothing is more true than the *Contrary*; when *all* our Jealousies, and Envy, Emulation, and Division, have been occasion'd by this ingrossing of *Office* and Preferment, from the partiality of the Laws; and men must needs be more apt to maligne those, that only will allow themselves to govern, than such as will more modestly admit any other to share in

vid. Letter.

in the Government. Whatever has been the ſenſe of ſome Church-men, they need not be aſham'd to retract their opinion, when the Recantation too will only make them better Chriſtians, and add the more Credit to their reſtor'd Charity; as many among them never approv'd of the making men ſuffer for the Religion of their * Church; ſo ſeveral of them unprejudic'd, thought it as hard they ſhould utterly be diſabled for all Adminiſtrations in the * *State*. To tell us, becauſe we were *once* of an opinion, we muſt *never* change it; is a better *Rule* in Religion; and if obſerv'd, would have prevented all Schiſm, if not hinder'd a Reformation, but is ſtill a bad *Maxim* in the Politicks of a *Common-wealth*; for the changes and wonderful revolutions that happen in thoſe *aggregated* bodies, as well as in our Perſonal and *individuals*; which many times in *leſs* than *ſeven* years, are mouldred *all* into new matter, make ſome *Conſtitutions* and *Eſtabliſhments*, Rules and Reaſons, not only ridiculous but Impracticable; and we cannot find in *Scripture* too, (unleſs *interpreted* by the whimſeys of ſuch as ſet up for *Chriſts Kingdom*,) that our Saviour, has aſſur'd us he'll be with the Government, as well as the Church *to the end of the world*. To this Point I can only tell the *Penſioner* further, that Catholiques *here* are not made uneaſy under their *preferments*, unleſs it be by theſe Laws that make them ſuch Criminals *only* for being *preferr'd*; and *Proteſtants* may maintain with them a *good Correſpondence*, unleſs ſuch, whoſe Ambition would *alone* ſhare the Adminiſtration of the State, or the favour of the Crown, and make of the very Government it ſelf *A Monopoly*.

That learned *Dilemma*, does not pinch, and preſs the Argument ſo cloſe, as the Paper Pretends, *viz. That, if the Papiſts are ſo* Few, *the Laws have the* Leſs *reaſon to be Repeal'd for them; and if their Numbers are much* Greater, *Proteſtants have more reaſon to be* afraid. This ſort of ſyllogiſing, as ſound as it is, is as ſoon anſwer'd with another to the ſame, and that, out of his Own Conceſſions. *If their Numbers are ſo* Few (*as he ſayes they are in* Holland) *'tis hard, to hinder them from* Publick Employments, *when the* Publick *Safety can no wayes be endanger'd by them: and if they are ſo* Numerous, *as he would make them in* Ireland, *then we*

* *Vid.* Proteſtant Reconciler, *&c.*

* *Vid.* Proteſt of the Lords againſt the *Teſts*.

we have no reaſon to be afraid; ſince where ſo many of them (and we'll imagin them, if he will, the *Major* Part) *People* the Country, *Inhabit* the Towns, are *Intruſted* with Offices, *Civil* and *Military*, the Proteſtant Religion remains as *firm* and unviolated, and the *Conſtitution* of the Government, as much *Unſhaken*: and to bring it *home*r to our ſelves in *England*, in a farther Anſwer to theſe fearful apprehenſions that are ſent us from *Holland*; That, *When the Reſtraints of the Laws are Repeal'd, then we ſhall ſee them brought into the Government; and Proteſtants find no more the ſupport of the Laws from ſuch Magiſtrates.* I hope he does not think too, we ſhall have no Proteſtant Lords left, and that the Peerage it ſelf ſhall be *diſplac'd*: but this Gentleman, is too much an *Alien* to our *Commonwealth*, to be admitted either as a Judg or Juror; being utterly unacquainted, both with Law and Fact. For *firſt*, the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion does not *ſolely* depend upon thoſe Statutes that are Penal, and thoſe are *only* deſired to be Repeal'd. In the *next* place he has forgot, or is not yet inform'd, that our KINGS from the *Conſtitution* of our Laws, have a power to Diſpenſe with them too; which a *Dr. of Ours, and a Favourite of theſe *Dutch*, has made as dangerous as a Repeal, & indeed, the very ſame: He knows not that his Majeſty has *Actually* exerciſed this *Power*, & *Offices* of all *ſorts* of *Truſts*, are *already* in their hands, *Civil*, *Military*, as *Souldiers* and *Magiſtrates*; and none can be more Powerful to make Alterations, than ſuch as have the Command in an Army; and yet his fearful forebodings of future Invaſions are now become *no* matter of Fact, & makes *that* fail him too; the Proteſtants promiſcuouſly enjoy, & that quietly with them too all manner of *Publick Imployment*; and their Religion remains as much *Undiſturb'd* and *Eſtabliſht*. But to infer from theſe Priveleges that the *Romaniſts* already Enjoy from the Clemency and Prerogative of the King, that therefore they muſt have further *deſigns* than their *Own* ſecurity; and that they need nothing of a Repeal for to compleat their Happineſs, or to aſcertain their ſafety, is certainly an inference *uncharitable*, *groundleſs*, *Falſe*: for as they have not ſhewn themſelves ſo forward to ſubvert this Proteſtant Religion; for this *four Years*,

* Vid. *Six Papers*, pag. 25.

Years, wherein they may be imagin'd to have had *all* opportunities of doing it; (and if we believe Dr. *B.* and the mighty influence he sayes they had in all the last Reign, we may add *Twenty four Years* more) we must conclude, that it is the want of some Peoples *Charity*, that makes them so *designing*; and that they are *only* so *Formidable*, because some Persons are resolv'd to be *afraid*: but nothing is a greater Mistake and *falser* Inference, than from the Immunity they Enjoy from the *Meer* Prerogative of the *Prince*, to say their necessity for abrogating these Laws is Superseded; when their *sole* Safety they must needs see (and so do their Enemies too with more satisfaction) depends upon the Life of a *Merciful* Monarch (that must be *mortal* too) as long as these Laws are left in Force for their future *Destruction*; and how compleatly they are fram'd for it, in the loss of All *Property*, *Liberty*, and *Life* (if these little things can *destroy* a man) by only being lookt upon, will appear. I'le appeal to any Impartial Protestant, whether his *endeavours* would not be the *same*, if his *Circumstances* were so too; one would think that such *Counsellors* as would Lull them asleep with their seeming security, propos'd only their more easy ruin by some sudden surprise, such as are content for a time that their helpful *Hands* bear with them the *Sword* of *Justice*, as long as *another* hangs over their *Heads*; that will allow them a *good Dinner*, if they'le but take it under *Damocles* his Dagger: But Gentlemen, this is none of the greatest *Kindness* to Complement them to such a *Meal*, 'tis but *civilly* telling them in the literal sense, Eat and Drink, for to Morrow ye Dy.

Having said so much *before*, on this so controverted Subject; we should hardly have pursu'd it so much *farther*, had not this fresh Provocation, upon the closing of this Piece, fell into our hands, which any one may see, is set a foot, on purpose to *divide* the Parliament, that themselves are afraid might otherwise *Agree* in an Universal Repeal: And I must tell these Contenders, as long as a Legal Toleration will certainly be as great a security to all Protestants, in the Liberty of their own Worship, as any Legal Tests whatsoever: These Retainers of them, positively delare, 'Tis not the Protestant Religion *alone*, they are so tender

to Preſerve; For if the Bill of Exclusion had by the *more* Corruption of the Houſe, been Paſt into an Act, they might as well have labour'd too for the continuance of That: Since, if I have any conception of the Politicks of thoſe times, thoſe very two Teſts they are ſo Zealous to retain, were directly intended againſt the very *Perſon* of His Majeſty: The First, moſt effectually made him loſe the *Place* of an Admiral; and 'twas with much ado, the *Proviſo* of the Latter, left him a *Place* among the Peers.

The Veneration all *Engliſh* Subjects ſhould have, for the Preſumptive, or Apparent *Succeſſor* of the *Crown* (for in ſpite of the Sophiſtry of the late Lord *Shaftsbury*, the ſenſe of the Terms is the *ſame*, when there is none Appears *before* to Intercept him;) That as it was ſufficient to recommend the Contents of ſuch a Piece to a *Serious Peruſal*; ſo it muſt needs make it Merit as *Modeſt* a *Reflection*, did it *really* bear that *Image* and *Superſcription*, which I've reaſon to imagin was but a *Counterfeited Coin*. The Preſſes at *London*, did more probably produce, what was their Prudence and Policy to Paum upon the *Hague*; and if *Holland* had the honour of bringing it into light, this *Penſioner* of the *States*, was only *our Dr.* at *Amſterdam*; however, it is handled with All the reſpect imaginable, even for the ſake of thoſe Venerable *Characters* ſo Politickly *Feign'd*: The Name of ſuch a Princeſs, by *Nature* the *Beſt*, and by *Birth* Inferiour to *None*; we would *truly* revere, tho' we were ſure it was there as *Falſly* prefixt, as we are ſtill bound to *Pray* for the Royal Family, ſo muſt Her Proſperity be as much remembred in our *Prayers*; neither will thoſe we uſe *now* for the *Propagating* of It, diſpleaſe ſuch a Generous Princeſs; much leſs, Should make ſome Proteſtants ſo ſullen, as in a Zeal, to decline their Church, and *Libel* their very Prayers, ſince *only* they are offer'd for *Perpetuating* that Royal Line, of which there are but few in remainder, and not ſo *many* left: and if only the *Touching* upon ſuch a Subject, ſhall by ſome be made ſo Criminal, for the ſake *only* of ſo Sacred a Title, tho' *without* Their Authority, they muſt pardon me that *undecency*, ſince Royal Papers have been ſufficiently reflected on, that have been *more* Authoriz'd, and that by *thoſe* too, who with greater *decency* might have *ſpar'd* their Animadverſion.

There

There remains no more to be ſaid, if men will Conſider their *Intereſt*, Examine their *Reaſon*, have a regard to *Equity*, they will ſoon ſee that what is deſir'd, is only, *To do* to *others*, *as they would be done unto:* But this *Golden* Rule, cannot I confeſs, guide or direct thoſe that can Outface it with a *forehead* of braſs; that can treat Princes and * Prelates with more opprobrious terms than themſelves would *bear*, or ſo many *Porters*; but this *incomparable* Impudence is only due to that *unimitable* Dr. which in his affected Phraſe, muſt be *needs* an Original, becauſe *never* to be Copy'd.

* *Vid.* His *Enquiry* againſt the Biſhop of *Oxford.*

Such tranſcendent inſolency ſoars a pitch beyond *Imitation*, and, is indeed ſuch a ſublime, ſuch a *flight* to which nothing but a *brow* of a *peculiar compoſition* could attain; To *Threaten* KINGS with their Characters and *Life* as it is that *Altitude* and *Acme* of the moſt *exalted* Arrogance; So it muſt be the ſureſt indication of the *Profoundeſt* folly; it does but bid a defyance to *ſenſe* and *truth*; and aſſures us he can recond[illegible] to his Rage and Calumny, thoſe vaſt extreams of *Falſehood* and *Contradiction*; it only *beſpeaks* the Reader to that villany, which the Author is *intended* to commit, ſecures him his infamy *beforehand*; and blaſts his Credit with an Anticipation of his Crime; the * Memoirs of King Charles the *Second*, when ſent us from ſuch hands, muſt needs have as much Malice and Reputation, as the Court of King James *the firſt*; and the Confutation of both, has been *beſt* adjudg'd to be the Province of the Common Executioner; and if *threatned men live long* (as the Dr. himſelf obſerves) 'tis in that ſenſe alone he makes his Monarch *Immortal.*

* *Vid.* Compare but *Burnets Memoirs* with *Weldens Court.*

'Tis time now to *Apply* our ſelves to an approaching Parliament, ſince the Party that oppoſes its Agreement has form'd it's Faction; and been ſo *forward*, as to be *before* us in their *Application:* for men that have but a *bad* cauſe to carry on, commonly make diligence to ſupply the defect of the *Goodneſs* of their Caſe; and therefore the late Letter to a Diſſenter (only in a new dreſs) is now *directed* to a * Perſon of *Quality*; whom the Author (forgetting his former reflections) has already *Return'd* a Member of the Houſe, before his Majeſty (not to mention the *leave* to Debate) has granted them ſo much as *Liberty* of Election.

* *Vid.* Letter to a Perſon of Quality.

I need not *revy* upon the Reflecter on the late *Letter* of the Pensioner, who has only put out a *Panegyrick*, in the name of an *Animadversion*; he'le find himself refuted *beforehand* in our Observations upon *that* Original, and there is nothing more in *his* * Copy besides the Malice; & that is extended even to the making of their Primitive *Hero*, a Pusillanimous deserter that would keep himself *at a distance* from their deeper designs; and, sure, 'tis but a bad cause that shall make a Subjects deference to his Prince the very Occasion of his Crime; His inference from mijn heer F's. Wit and Parts, is no more an Argument than he *made* the Letter, than it is a stronger one a Maxim, that the same Person made *both* that and the *Reflections*, and we know what Author it is, so much fam'd for his mischief, that is as notoriously vain for the commendation of himself.

* Vid. *Reflections on F's. Letter.*

I shall therefore close with two *Exhortations* to those that are to be our Representatives, and offer one *consideration* to those that are *Chosen*.

When ever the KING sends you his Summons, let your Elections be carried with Moderation, and your *Choice* of such men, as are either concern'd to *Repeal* these Laws for their own sakes, or inclin'd to do it for the *Reasons* that require it.

Let your Returns be made as *fairly* as possible; for that which is a *sound* Parliament, will the sooner be an *Healing* One.

And may that *Peaceful Assembly*, when it Sits, *consider* how to *Pacify* the Nation, and grant too, His Majestys Propositions for *Peace*. Let them *consider*, that their *present* Prince (tho as powerful as any of his *Predecessors*, or more *absolute* neighbours) does only desire a *Repeal* by Law, does allow them *all* that Liberty of Debate, which even our *Hen.* the *Eighth* did indeed make but a *Merit* of Obedience; and the Kings of *France* in the *True* Sense, their Le Roy Vult. I never saw a Parliament *end* well, when it *began* at *Cross Purposes* with their King. I remember the time, when it was thought a Piece of Play, to *Jostle* with the Crown, when *It was Ask't*—A Supply: *It was Answer'd*, Popery.—*It was Ask't* — to Consider the Navy. *It was Answer'd*, Arbitrary Power. Such Sessions we *end* in Remonstrances, but never in any real good to the

the *Crown*. And

the *Paſt*, that its fame *may* be as laſting, as the Liberty that it gives; and that *both may* be tranſmitted, and continued to Poſterity.

FINIS.